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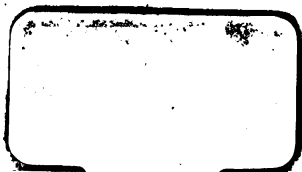
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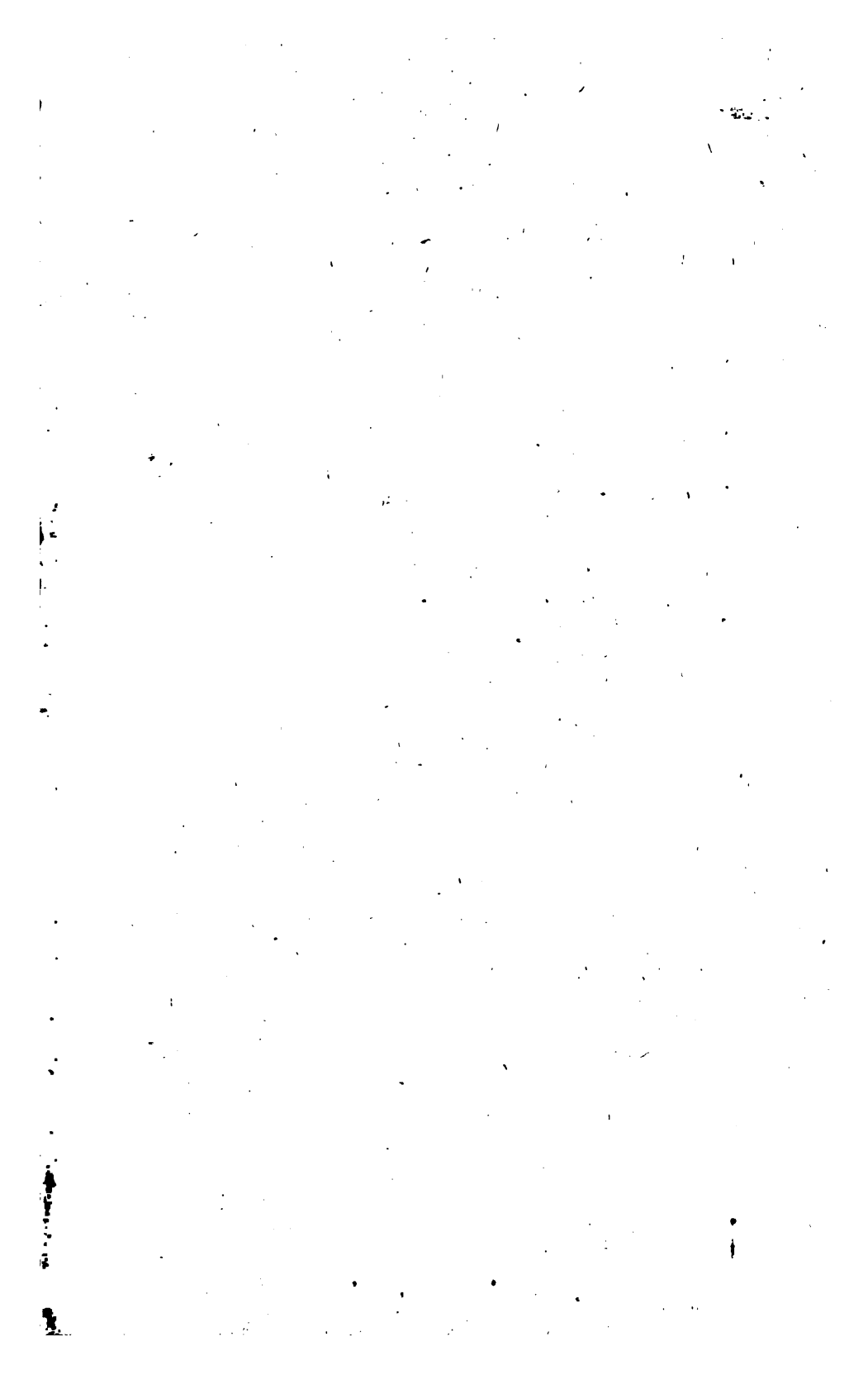
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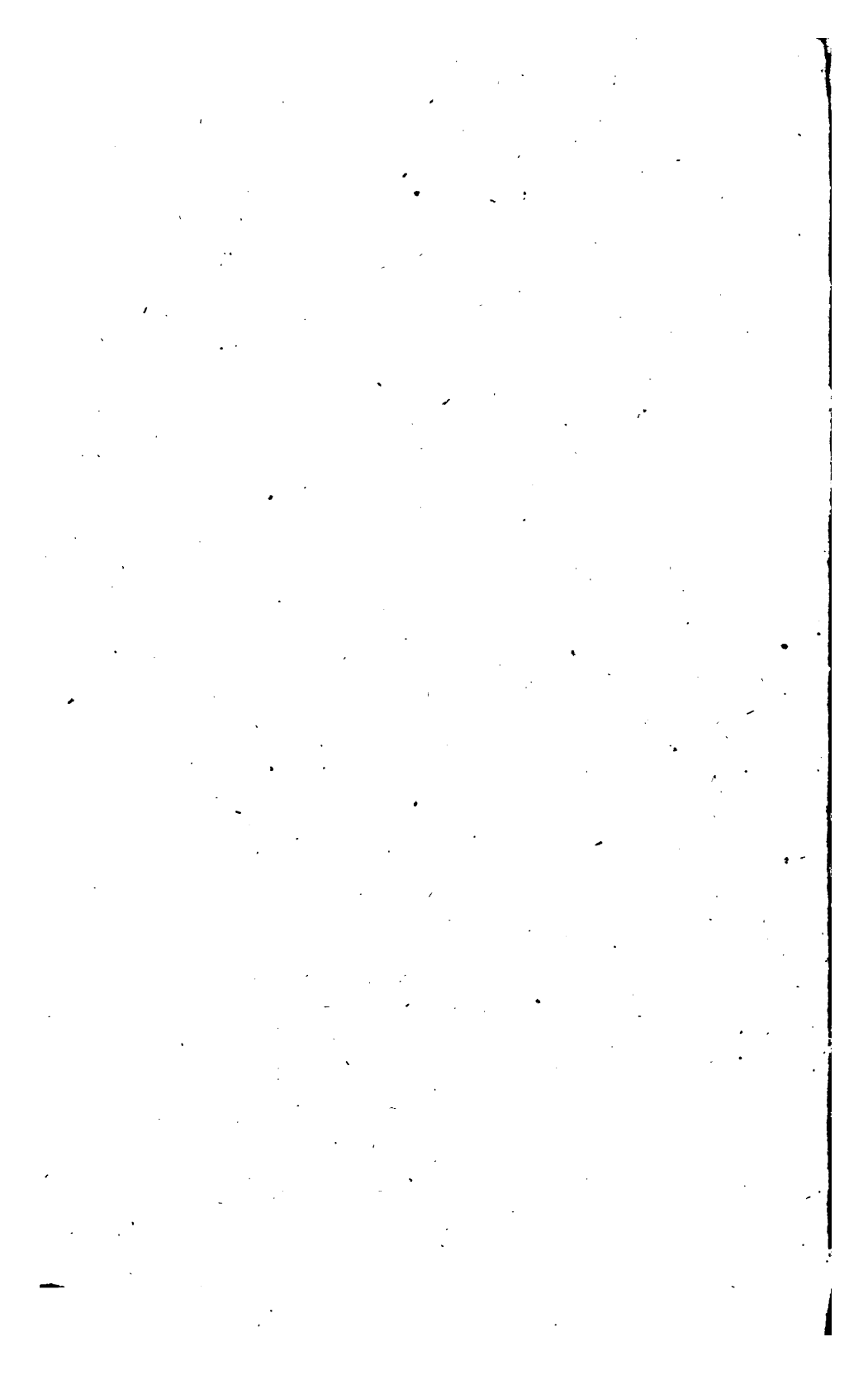
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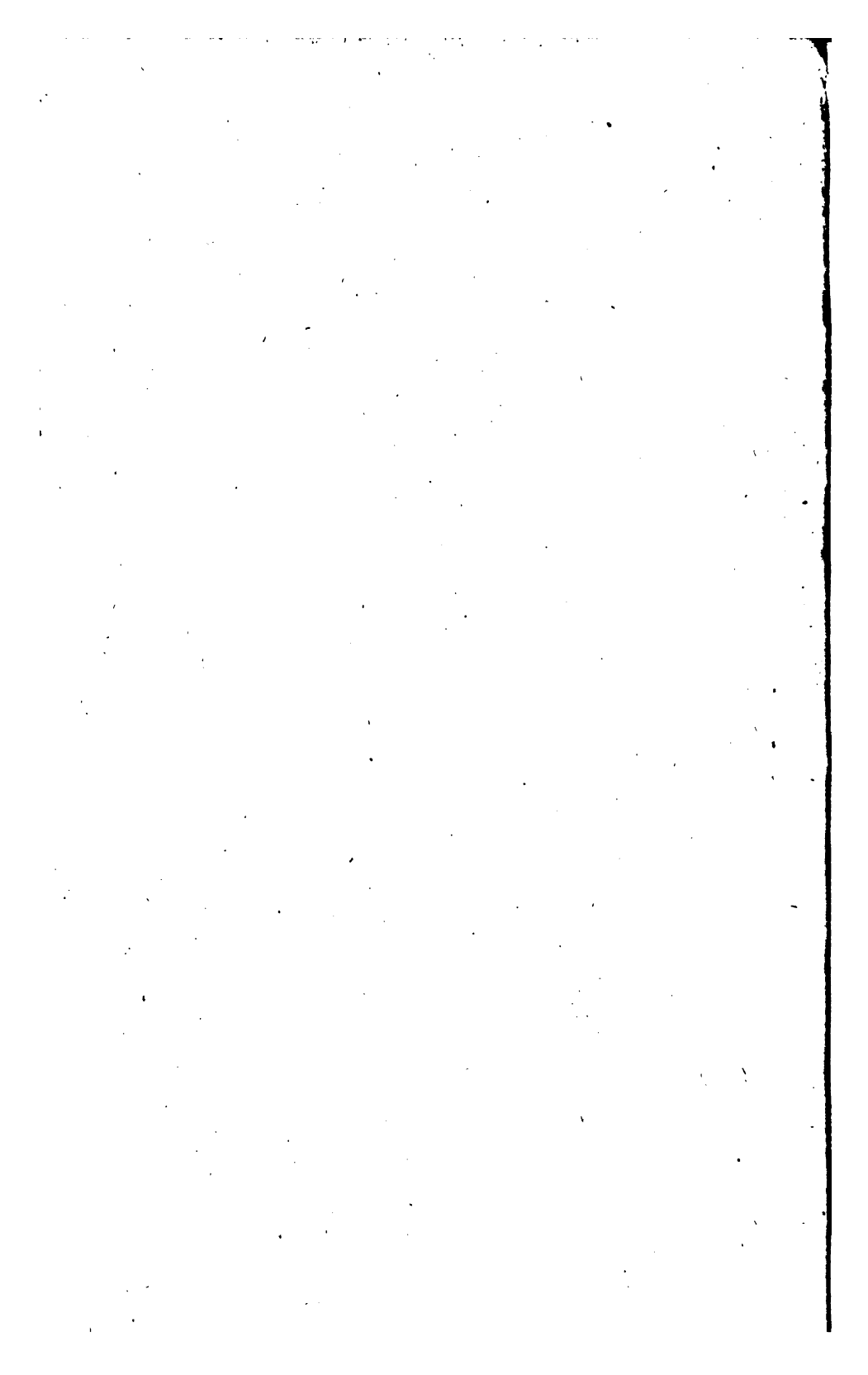
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A N

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

Illustrated with

CHARTS, MAPS, NOTES, &c.

A N D

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

*Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξίεχσθαι μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ὑψηλοῖς ἀνόπῳς.
ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ συνῆξαι ἐγνώτως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.*

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A N

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

C H A P. XII.

The History of the Medes.

S E C T. I.

The Description of Media.

THE country before us, once the seat of a potent empire^a, derives its name from Madai, the third son of Japhet (A). It was bounded, according to Ptolemy, on the north by part of the Caspian Sea; on the south by Persis, Susiana, and Assyria; on the east by Parthia and Hyrcania; and on the west by Armenia Major. It

Name, situation, &c.

^a Dan. v. 28. Ibid. vi. 8. 12. 15. Ibid. viii. 20. Esth. i. 3. 14. 18, 19. Ibid. x. 2.

(A) Among profane authors, some derive the name of Media, from one Medus, the son of Medea and Jason; others, from a city here called Media, whence, say they, the whole country borrowed its name (1). Sextus Rufus tells us, that in his time it was known by the name of Medena (2); and from others we learn that it was also called Aria.

(1) Vide Strab. lib. xi. p. 526. vocem, Media.

(2) Ortel. Theſ. Geogr. ad

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B

was,

was, in ancient times, divided into several provinces, namely Tropatene, Charomithrene, Darites, Marciane, Amariace, and Syro-Media. All these were, by a later division, reduced to two only, the one called Media Magna, the other Media Atropatia, or simply Atropatene.

Atropatene was that part which lay between Mount Taurus and the Caspian Sea, and is supposed to have been so-called from one Atropatus, who, being governor of this province in the time of Darius, the last Persian monarch, opposed Alexander the Great; and, upon the destruction of the Persian monarchy, seized on this part of Media, and transmitted it to his posterity, who held it as sovereigns to Strabo's time ^b. This was a cold, barren, and inhospitable country, and on that account allotted by Shalmanazer for the residence of many captive Israelites, after the conquest of that kingdom.

Cities.

Cities of note, on this part of Media, were Gaza, or Gazæ, the metropolis of the province, situated, according to Pliny, in a spacious plain, between Ecbatan and Artaxata, and equally distant from both. Sanina, situated between the Araxes and the Cambyfes; Fazina, between the Cambyfes and the Cyrus; and Cyropolis, between the Cyrus and the Amardus. This tract was inhabited by the Cadusians and Caspians, a barbarous and inhuman race, originally sprung from the Scythians ^c.

Media Magna was bounded by Persis, Parthia, Hyrcania, the Hyrcanian Sea, and Atropatene. The most remarkable cities in it were Ecbatan, Laodicea, Apamea, Regeia, and Arfacia. Ecbatan, the metropolis of all Media, and the seat both of the Median and Persian monarchs, was built by Dejoces, called in the book of Judith Arphaxad, the first that reigned in Media, after the inhabitants had shaken off the Assyrian yoke. The walls of this city are much celebrated by the ancients, and minutely described by Herodotus. They were seven in number, all of a circular form, and gradually rising above each other by the height of the battlements of each wall. The situation of the ground, rising by an easy ascent, was very favourable to the design of building them, and perhaps first suggested it. The royal palace and treasury were within the innermost circle of the seven. In the book of Judith we read, that the walls of this stately metropolis were seventy cubits high, and fifty cubits broad; that the towers on the gates were a hundred cubits in height, the

^b Strabo, lib. xi. p. 523.

^c Plin. lib. vi. cap. 13.

breadth in the foundation sixty cubits, and the walls built of hewn and polished stone, each stone being six cubits in length, and three in breadth. This city is, by the ancients, called Ecbatan of Media, to distinguish it from another in Syria bearing the same name, where the unfortunate Cambyfes died, as we read in Herodotus ^d (B).

Laodicea, of which appellation there were many towns, so called either from the mother of Nicator, or the wife of Antiochus, is counted by Strabo among the cities of Media, and placed by Pliny near the confines of Persia. Apamea is, by Strabo, sometimes adjudged to Media, and sometimes to Parthia. Raga, Rageia, or Ragea, is called, by Isidorus, the greatest city of Media. It was repaired by Nicator, who called it Europus, and by that name it was known to Ptolemy; but in the book of Tobit it is called Rages, and placed in the neighbourhood of Ecbatan^e. In process of time it became the seat of the Parthian kings, who gave it the name of Arfacia, or Arface, as we shall see in the history of that people. Other cities of Media are mentioned by Pliny, Stephanus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Isidorus, viz. Zombis, Patigran, Gazaca, Margasis, &c. but these were all built in after-ages by the Macedonians, and are therefore called by Strabo ^f Greek cities. This part of Media was inhabited by the Carduchians, Marandæans, Gelians, Syro-Medians, Margafians, &c.

The mountains of this country, such as may be proper to take notice of, are, according to Ptolemy and Strabo, Choatra, parting Media from Assyria, and branching out from the Gordyeen mountains on the confines of Assyria and Armenia; Xagrus, dividing it from the same Assyria on the east, a mountain, according to Polybius, one hun-

*Mountains
and rivers.*

^d Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 66.
lib. vi. p. 361.

^e Ch. v. & seq. pass.

^f Strab.

(B) There are now no monuments remaining of the superb palace, where the monarchs of Asia generally passed their summer; nay, there is a great disagreement among our modern travellers about the place where that stately metropolis stood. The opinion of Molet,

who translated and wrote a commentary upon Ptolemy, seems to Sir John Chardin the most probable, viz. that Tauris is the ancient and famous Ecbatan (2); and this opinion is confirmed by Ortelius, Golnitz, Teizera, Andrea della Valle, &c.

(2) Chardin. Voy. en Pers. tom. i.

The History of the Medes.

dred cubits high^f; Parachotra, placed by Ptolemy on the borders towards Persia, and by Strabo^g, on the confines of Media, Hyrcania, and Parthia. These are the boundaries between Media and the adjacent regions, and therefore may be said as properly to belong to the latter as to the former; but the Orontes, the Jafonius, and the Coronus, are in the strictest sense mountains of Media, as arising in the very heart of the country. The rivers of note are, according to Ptolemy, the Straton, the Amardus, the Cyrus, and the Cambyfes. But these rivers being represented to disembrace themselves into the most southern part of the Caspian Sea, must, by their position, have belonged to the provinces of Ghelan and Mazandaran, as they are now called; and consequently could not belong to Media Proper, as described by the ancients.

Soil.

The northern parts of Media, lying between the Caspian mountains and the sea, are very cold and barren: the present inhabitants make their bread of dried almonds, and their drink of the juice of certain herbs. Here the snow lies on the mountains for nine months in the year. But the southern parts are productive of all sorts of grain and necessities for life, and so pleasant, that the country adjoining to Tauris, probably the ancient Ecbatan, is called the Garden of Persia. There are here large plains, among which that of Nyfa is famous for the numerous studs of horses that were kept in it for the use of the Persian monarchs, and are often mentioned and celebrated by the ancients. Where this plain of Nyfa was situated, is no easy matter to determine.

Climate.

The climate of Media is very unequal; that part which lies between the mountains and the sea, is exceeding cold, and the earth swampy, and full of marshes, where innumerable swarms of venomous insects are bred (C), which, together with the vapours rising from the Caspian Sea, render that part very unhealthy. The provinces more remote from the sea enjoy a very wholesome air, though liable to heavy rains, and violent storms, especially in the

^f Polyb. lib. v. cap. 44.

^g Strabo, lib. vi. p. 363.

(C) Ælian tells us (3), that these parts of Media were greatly infested by scorpions; and that while the king of Persia was on his progress into Media, the inhabitants were employed for three days before his arrival on the confines, in clearing the country of these venomous insects.

(3) Ælian de Animalibus, lib. x. cap. 26.

spring

Spring and autumn. Besides the cattle and game of all sorts, which the inland provinces abound with, some of them have been for many ages remarkable on account of the various sorts of excellent wines they produce, especially the neighbourhood of Tauris, where no less than sixty different kinds of grapes, all of an exquisite flavour, were found by a late celebrated traveller^b.

We cannot dismiss this subject without some observations on the Caspian Sea, which is the northern boundary of Media. This large body of waters was, by the ancients, called indifferently the Caspian and Hyrcanian Sea, from the Caspians and Hyrcanians, whose shores it washed. However, Pliny makes some difference between these two appellations, telling us, that on the Caspian coasts it bears the former denomination, and on those of Hyrcania the latter. The ancient, and likewise the modern geographers, had but a very imperfect knowledge of the true situation, extent, coasts, and bays of this sea, before the discoveries made lately by a very able navigator and geographer (D); and therefore what has been said by others, is only to be relied on so far as it agrees with the accounts he has given us. Ptolemy and even Herodotus knew that the Caspian was surrounded on all sides by land, without any communication with other seas, or visible efflux; whence some thought that it ought to be called a lake, rather than a sea: However, Strabo^d, Pliny^e, Pomponius Mela^f, and Arrian^g, wrote, that it was joined either to the Indian or Northern Ocean; but we are well assured by experience that they were mistaken. Ptolemy, though not guilty of this error, was greatly mistaken as to its extent from east to west; for he reckons it to have been about twenty three degrees and a half, whereas it does not exceed, where widest, three degrees forty-two minutes; and where narrowest, one degree twenty-two minutes. He likewise places it three degrees more to the north than it really is. These mistakes were observed,

Caspian sea.

^b Chardin. vol. i. p. 185.
lib. vi. cap. 13.

^d Strab. lib. x. p. 83.
^f Pompon. Mel. lib. iii. cap. 5.

^e Plin.
^g Lib.

(D) Mr. Vanverden, who by orders of the late czar, formed a very exact chart of the Caspian, from observations made by him on the spot, in 1720, 1721, 1722. These ob-

servations, together with Mr. Vanverden's new chart, were, by order of the czar, communicated to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris.

and in some degree redressed by Abu'lfeda, an Arabian prince, and able geographer, who in 1320 discovered the true situation of the Caspian, and abridged its extent by a third of what Ptolemy had allowed it. By this alteration its length was no more in longitude, as Ptolemy has placed it, but in latitude, as it truly is. Abu'lfeda's observations were greatly improved by Bourrous, Olearius, and Jenkinson; but the true dimensions of this sea were not ascertained till the late observations above mentioned; by which we are assured that it lies between the 37th and 48th degrees of north latitude, and does not exceed three degrees forty-two minutes in its greatest longitude, which gives it a quite different figure from what it is represented to have in the maps of Ptolemy, and in the writings of the other ancient geographers.

The Persians call this sea Kulfum, or the sea of Astracan; the Russians, the sea of Gualenskoi; the Georgians, Sowa; the Armenians, Soof. It receives the river Wolga, which itself is like a sea, and near two hundred others, into its bosom; and yet is never decreased nor diminished, nor observed to ebb or flow. This constant plenitude has given rise to many speculations; and some have imagined, that it must necessarily have some subterraneous communication either with the Black Sea, though a hundred leagues distant, or with the Persian Gulf, which is near two hundred leagues distant from it. Father Avril, a modern traveller, seems to favour the latter opinion, and alleges this proof to confirm it, viz. that over-against the province of Xilan, in Persia, there are two immense whirlpools, which, with an incredible rapidity, and frightful noise, suck in and swallow whatever comes near them, and are consequently caused by some great cavity in the earth. He adds, that every year, about the latter end of autumn, a great quantity of willow-leaves are observed floating on the water by those who inhabit the coasts of the Persian Gulf; and as this tree is no where to be found near the Persian Gulf, and on the other hand, the coasts of the Caspian, towards the province of Xilan, are covered with them, he concludes, that there must be some subterraneous intercourse between these two seas. This observation, if true, is a strong proof of some secret communication between these two bodies of water, the leaves being conveyed through subterraneous fissures from the one to the other. The water of this sea is salt, like that of other seas, notwithstanding the opinion of the ancients to the contrary; and its freshness in some parts near the shore,

shore, is only owing to the rivers that discharge themselves into it. It is neither of a different colour from other seas, nor without various sorts of fish, as Olearius, an eye-witness, assures us, and thereby disproves the opinion of the ancients, who believed it to be of a blackish colour, and to have but one kind of fish, and that of a monstrous form. We shall conclude this section with observing, that the ignorance of the ancients, with relation to this sea, or lake, as some affect to call it, may be urged as an argument of the imperfect knowledge they had of these northern parts of the Persian empire, and at the same time warn us not to depend on their accounts, unless vouched by the testimonies of modern travellers, who have with far greater care, and better success, surveyed these remote regions.

S E C T. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the Medes.

WE have already derived the Medes from Madai, *Their origin.* the third son of Japhet, and thereby put them upon the level with the most ancient nations. In process of time several colonies from the adjacent countries settled among them, being invited thither by the fruitfulness of the soil, which gave rise to the various tribes into which that people were anciently divided.

Their government was originally monarchical, and they *Government.* seem to have had kings of their own in the earliest times. Lactantius mentions one Hydaspes, who, according to him, reigned long before the Medes were conquered by the Assyrians. And Diodorus tells us, that Pharnus, king of the Medes, was with his seven sons defeated and taken prisoner by Ninus, in the very beginning of the Assyrian empire^a. But his accounts of those early times are no ways to be relied on, and as we have taken the Scripture for our guide, it follows that the Assyrian empire did not begin until the days of Pul, as it has been already fully shewn; whereas Ctesias, and his copyist Diodorus, have made this empire as old as the flood; and given us the names of all the Assyrian kings from Belus, and his feigned son Ninus, to Sardanapulus. According to the succession of the Assyrian kings, as stated by them, that

^a Diodor. Sicul. lib. v. cap. 5.

empire continued about thirteen hundred and sixty years; whereas Herodotus tells us that it lasted only five hundred years, and even his numbers are all too long. They were first brought under the Assyrian yoke by Pul, according to us, the founder of that monarchy, or by his immediate successor Tiglath-Pileser. Till that time they were probably governed by their own kings, as were, according to holy writ the neighbouring nations. In the reign of Sennacherib they shook off the Assyrian yoke, and fell into anarchy, which lasted until the reign of Dejoces, as we shall see in the following sections. Their kings, after the revolt, were quite absolute, and controuled by no law.

*Manners
and cus-
toms.*

The Medes were once a very warlike race, but in process of time became one of the most effeminate nations of Asia. They used the same armour as the Persians, whom they are said to have taught the art of war, especially to handle with dexterity the bow; and likewise to have been the first that introduced luxury into Persia, which at length occasioned the downfall of that empire^o. Polygamy was so far from being disreputable among them, that they were bound by law to maintain at least seven wives, and those women were looked upon with contempt, who maintained fewer than five husbands^p. In war they smeared their arrows with a bituminous liquor called naphta, whereof there was great plenty in Media, Persia, and Assyria. The arrows being set on fire, and shot from a slack bow, burnt the flesh with such violence, that water rather increased than extinguished the Flame. Dust alone could put a stop to it, and in some degree allay the unspeakable pain it occasioned. They are likewise said to have bred a number of large dogs, to whom they used to throw the bodies of their friends, parents, and relations, when at the point of death, looking upon it as dishonourable to die in their beds, or be laid in the ground^q.

Some writers charge the Medes with being the first authors of making eunuchs^r; but others impute this execrable practice to the Persians. The custom of confirming alliances with the blood of the contracting parties, which obtained among all the eastern nations, even in the Roman times, was originally peculiar to the Medes. When they were to strike alliances, they used to tie together, with an hard bandage, the thumbs of their right hands, until the

^o Strabo. lib. xi. Xenophon. Cyropæd. lib. i. p. 7. ^p Strabo. lib. xi. p. 526. ^q Bardeſan ap. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. vi. cap. 8. ^r Athenæus. lib. xii.

The History of the Medes.

9

blood starting to the extremities, was, by a slight cut, discharged. This they mutually sucked; and a league thus confirmed, was esteemed most awful, as mysteriously solemnized with the blood of the parties*.

The laws and religion of the Medes were much the same with those of the Persians; wherefore we shall defer what may be said of them, until we come to the history of the Persians, from the oriental writers. We shall only observe, that, when a law was once enacted, it was not in the king's power to repeal it, or to reverse a decree he had once made; whence the laws of the Medes are, in holy writ, called unchangeable†.

Laws and religion.

They paid their kings the greatest respect imaginable, raising them to a level even with their gods, and honoured their sovereign with the haughty title of *great king*, or *king of kings*. When they appeared in public, which seldom happened, they were always attended by music, and numerous guards, consisting of the prime nobility; their wives, children, and concubines, being part of their retinue, even when they headed their armies in the field.

As to their arts, learning, and trade, we are quite in the dark. Their country abounded with many excellent productions, as well for the use of the inhabitants as for foreign exportation; but whether they ever applied themselves to trade is what we find no where recorded. During the short time of their monarchy, they seem to have applied their thoughts only to warlike exercises, namely, to horsemanship and archery, in which they surpassed all other nations; the Median horse being no less celebrated by the ancients, than were in after-ages the Persian infantry‡.

S E C T. III.

The Chronology of the Medes, to the Translation of their Empire to the Persians.

WE have formerly shewn how Ctesias and his followers have darkened the chronology of the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Medes with such enormous anachronisms, that it is difficult to ascertain the rise or fall of those potent monarchies. To proceed with all the

* Tacit. Annal. xii. lib. i. cap. 7.

† Dan. vi. 3.

‡ Xenoph. Cyropæd.

clearness and perspicuity so perplexed a subject will allow, we shall distinguish, in the chronology of the Medes, three remarkable occurrences, which will give birth to as many different æras, viz. the recovery of their liberty after they had been subdued by the Assyrians; the rise of their kingdom, after some years of anarchy; and the beginning of their empire, which, it is agreed on all hands, rose on the ruins of the Assyrian monarchy. The first king of the Assyrians, who brought the Medes under subjection, was either Pul, the founder of the Assyrian empire, or his immediate successor Tiglath-Pileser; for this prince having, at the request of Ahaz, king of Judah, made war upon Rezin king of Damascus, and reduced that capital, transplanted its inhabitants to Kir and Media^v; whence it is plain that the Medes were then subject to the Assyrians; and consequently, that they must have been subdued either in the reign of Pul, or soon after the accession of Tiglath-Pileser to the crown. Pul makes his first appearance in Scripture during the reign of Menahem, king of Israel, in the year of the flood 1577, before Christ 771. Tiglath-Pileser, who is supposed to have been his son, succeeded him in the year of the flood 1608, before Christ 740. That there was no Assyrian empire before the days of Pul, appears, both from the Scripture, and from the particular histories of each kingdom; so that the Medes could not be subdued by them before the time we have mentioned. From the time of Pul or Tiglath-Pileser, they continued in subjection to the Assyrians until the reign of Sennacherib, which began about the year of the flood 1635, before Christ 713. They took advantage, it is likely, of his long and distant absence, or of the sudden slaughter of his army near Egypt, and shaking off the yoke, defended their liberty, by dint of arms, against the power of the Assyrians, which was now in its decline. These are the troubles which prevented Tobit from going into Media, according to his custom^x; and they must have happened about the latter end of Sennacherib's reign, that is about the year of the flood 1638, before Christ 710. The Medes, having thus rescued their country from the Assyrian bondage, fell into a kind of anarchy, as Herodotus informs us, which gave Esar-Haddon, or Asar-Hadon, who succeeded Sennacherib, and was a valorous and fortunate prince, an opportunity of bringing great part of Media, if not the whole country, anew un-

^v 2 Kings xvi. 7, 9.^x Tobit i. 15.

der subjection. How long the anarchy may have lasted is not easy to determine. Some include the years of the anarchy in the fifty-three, which Dejoces, their first king, is said to have reigned. If we suppose the Medes to have revolted in the year before Christ 710, and allow fifty-three years to the reign of Dejoces, the anarchy cannot have lasted above one year: for Dejoces, who in the book of Judith, is called Arphaxad, was killed by Saosduchinus, or Nebuchadonofor, in the year 656, which was the twelfth of Saosduchinus's reign, who came to the crown in the year 668 before the Christian æra. But the reign of Dejoces, who, as we read in Herodotus^y, had some time exercised the office of judge, before he was chosen king, is evidently too long; and we may safely abridge it of fifteen or twenty years, adding them to the anarchy. From the beginning of the reign of Dejoces, to the destruction of Nineveh, which happened in the ninth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, that is, in the year of the flood 1747, before Christ 601, Media may be properly styled a kingdom. From the destruction of Nineveh, we may date the rise of the empire of the Medes; for the conquerors, that is, Nebuchadnezzar^z and Cyaxares, having shared the Assyrian empire, they both became very powerful, and reduced most of the neighbouring nations. Their empire lasted till the taking of Babylon; for Xenophon tells us^a, that after the reduction of that city, Cyrus went to the king of the Medes at Ecbatan, and succeeded him in the kingdom. Babylon was taken sixty-three years after the destruction of Nineveh, to which we may add the two years that Darius the Mede reigned over that city; so that the empire of the Medes lasted sixty-five years, at the period of which the Persian empire took rise in Cyrus. That Darius the Mede reigned over Babylon is unquestionable; for he is said, in Scripture^b, to have introduced there the immutable laws of the Medes and Persians. In his reign, the Medes are ever placed before the Persians^c, as the Persians, in the reign of Cyrus and his successors, are before the Medes^c.

Before we proceed to the history of the Medes, we shall exhibit the series of their kings, according to several authors.

^y Lib. i. cap. 96. ^z Cyrop. lib. viii.
^a 12, 15. ^b Dan. ubi supra, & v. 28. viii. 20.
^c 14, 18, 19. Dan. x. 1, 20. & xi. 2.

^a Dan. vi.
^c Esth. i.

A Table of the Kings of the Medes, according to Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, and Syncellus.

Acc. to Herodot.	Acc. to Diod.	Acc. to Euseb.	Acc. to Syncel.
• • • • •	1 Arbaces 28	1 Arbaces 28	1 Arbaces 28
• • • • •	2 Mandaucēs 50	2 Sofarmus 30	2 Mandaucēs 20
• • • • •	3 Sofarmus 30	3 Medidus 40	3 Sofarmus 30
• • • • •	4 Articas 50	4 Cardiccas 13	4 Articas 30
• • • • •	5 Arbacines 22	• • • • •	• • • • •
• • • • •	6 Artæus 40	• • • • •	• • • • •
• • • • •	7 Artynes 22	5 Dejoces 54	5 Diceces 54
1 Dejoces 53	8 Antibarnes 40	6 Phraortes 24	6 Aphraartes 51
2 Phraortes 22	9 Aftibares ••	7 Cyaxares 32	7 Cyaxares 32
3 Cyaxares 40	10 Apandas or	8 Aftyas 38	8 Aftyages } 38
4 Aftyages 35	Aftyages ••		or Darius }
Total 150	282	259	283

This table contains what may be called two original catalogues, those of Herodotus and Diodorus, as this last has borrowed it from Ctesias. The other two are compounded of both, with an equal deference to each as far as they go. By what we have laid down above, it appears that Herodotus is not greatly mistaken in his numbers. Ctesias enumerates ten kings of Media, whose names are different from those mentioned by Herodotus, except the last, whom he calls Aftyages, and Diodorus denominates Apandas. The reigns of the eight first amount to two hundred and eighty-two years, and those of the two last are omitted; but, if they are supplied from Herodotus, they will come very near Justin's account; who supposes the kings of Media to have reigned three hundred and fifty years. Eusebius and Syncellus differ as widely from Ctesias as from each other, except in the name and reign of the first king Arbaces; and besides, omit two of his ten. They pay a greater respect to Herodotus, whom they copy more exactly, at least with regard to his names, though they vary sometimes very materially from him in the lengths of the reigns. As for the variations between those writers, it would be a fruitless task to enquire into them; especially as it must appear, from what we have said already, that they are both grossly mistaken.

S E C T. IV.

The History of the Medes.

WE shall begin with what we may call the fabulous history of the Medes, extracted from Ctesias, his transcriber Diodorus, and their followers. According to these, the Medes were governed by kings of their own, before the early days of Ninus, the pretended founder of the Assyrian monarchy; for, when Ninus invaded this country it was ruled by one Pharnus, who being defeated by that mighty warrior, was taken prisoner, and crucified with his wife and seven children^d. Thus Media was reduced to a province of the Assyrian empire, and remained subject to the successors of Ninus until the time of Sardanapalus. However, they made some attempts towards the recovery of their liberty during the regency of Semiramis, and minority of her son Ninyas; for she is said to have invaded Media with a mighty army, and encamping near a mountain called Bagistan, to have made a pleasant garden twelve furlongs in compass. The mountain was dedicated to Jupiter, and had on one side craggy rocks, seventeen furlongs high, which she ascended on the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burden that followed her army. In the lower part of this rock, she caused her statue to be hewn out, and a hundred of her guards attending her. From hence she marched to Chaon, a city of Media, where, on the top of a very lofty rock, she formed another pleasant garden, with stately edifices, whence she might behold the beauties of the spot, and her whole army encamped in the plain. From Chaon she advanced towards Ecbatan, and, on her march, levelled mount Zarcæum, which was many furlongs in extent, filled up valleys, and in spite of nature, opened a plain and easy way to Ecbatan, which to our author's time was called Semiramis's road^e. These extraordinary works, as they were lasting monuments of her conquests, not only over the rebellious Medes, but nature itself, kept that nation in a servile subjection and dependency to the reign of Sardanapalus, that is for the space of near fourteen hundred years, when Arbaces, governor of Media, and Belshis, governor of Babylon, put an end to the Assyrian empire, in the manner related in the History of Assyria.

^d Diod. Sic. lib. ii. cap. 1.^e Idem. ibid.

Arbaces,

Arbaces.

Arbaces, first king of the Medes, after their revolt, is represented as a prince of great generosity and gratitude. He subdued all Asia, and reigned twenty-eight years.

Mandaucses.

He was succeeded by his son Mandaucses, who reigned fifty years: being a prince of a peaceable disposition, and his subjects desirous of some respite after the violent struggles for liberty and empire in the last reign, we find no mention of any military transactions during his government.

Sofarmus.

Sofarmus appears next, by some called Medidus. He reigned thirty years, and this is all we find of him upon record.

Artias.

Artias, by some called Arbycas, by others Cardiccas, reigned next. From his name, some, who indulge etymologies, presume that he was a great and glorious prince, the word Arti, or Arta, in the composition of his name, denoting *greatness*, as it signifies according to the interpretation of Herodotus, in that of the Persian Artaxerxes^f.

Arbianes.

After him came Arbianes, in whose reign a war broke out between the Medes and the Caducians, who at the instigation of one Parsodes, rising up in arms, shook off the yoke, which they had for some time groaned under. Parsodes was by birth a Persian; but the chief favourite and prime minister of Arbianes king of the Medes, whom he served with great fidelity, until being highly provoked by a sentence pronounced against him by that prince, he fled with three thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to the Caducians; where he not only withdrew his obedience to Arbianes, but stirred up the whole nation to a revolt. The Caducians, thus encouraged to contend for their liberties, committed the whole management of the war to Parsodes, as the most proper person, on all accounts, to command their army and conduct its operations; but, before he took the field, Arbianes died, after a reign of twenty years.

Artæus.

Artæus came to the crown while the Caducians were making vast preparations to invade his kingdom; and understanding that Parsodes was advancing towards the frontiers at the head of two hundred thousand men, he thought it high time to curb the insolence of that rebel. Accordingly having raised an army of eight hundred thousand men, he marched out with this mighty host, and engaged the rebels; but was most shamefully routed, and forced to save himself by flight, leaving fifty thousand of his men dead on the field of battle. Upon this victory the Caducians pro-

^f Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 98.

claimed Parsodes their king; who, accepting the crown, inspired his new subjects with that irreconcilable hatred which he had conceived against the Medes, and laid the foundations of a perpetual enmity between the two nations. He is said to have solemnly conjured the Cadusians, even on his death-bed, to wage eternal war with the Medes, and never to lay down their arms, until that odious nation should be utterly abolished, loading at the same time, with curses and imprecations, such of his successors, as ever should, upon any terms whatsoever, be reconciled with them. In pursuance of this, as we may call it his last will, the Cadusians watched all opportunities of harassing the Medes with inroads, and doing them what mischief they could, until the empire was transferred from them to the Persians ^z.

After Artæus, Artynes reigned twenty-two years; but did nothing worth mentioning. He was succeeded by Artibarnas or Artabanus, in whose reign the Parthians revolting, put themselves under the protection of the Sacæ, a people inhabiting mount Hæmodus, which separates India from Scythia. This revolt occasioned a war of many years between the Medes and the Sacæ, who were then governed by the famed Zanara, a heroine of great prowess. That princess is no less celebrated, by our author, for her courage and conduct in war, than her beauty. She had, according to him, rescued her country from the tyranny of the neighbouring princes, civilized her subjects, and inured them to military discipline, and the toils of war. After she had for many years harassed the Medes, a peace was at last concluded between her and Artibarnas, on the following equitable conditions, that the Parthians should submit to the Medes, and the Sacæ and Medes quietly enjoy what they possessed at the beginning of the war ^h.

Artynes.

Artibarnas.

Hitherto we have dwelt on what we may safely call the fabulous history of the Medes; these kings, or most of them, being no where found but in the books, or rather in the imagination of Ctesias, which was very fertile in the production of monsters. We now come to the genuine history of Media, as it has been transmitted to us by authors of a quite different character.

The Medes having thrown off the yoke of the Assyrians in the reign of Sennacherib, lived some time without a king; but were again brought under subjection by one of

The genuine history of the Medes.

^z Diod. Sic. lib. ii. cap. 3.

^h Idem. ibid.

their

their own country, whose name was Dejoces. He is represented as a subtle crafty man, aiming at absolute power; and is said to have compassed his design in the following manner: the Medes were, at that time, divided into several districts, in one of which lived Dejoces, who, seeing all kinds of licentiousness prevail over the whole country, applied himself to the administration of justice with great zeal and diligence. The Medes of the same district observing the equity of his conduct, chose him for their judge, and he, aspiring to the sovereign power, performed that office with all possible regard to justice. Thus he not only acquired a great reputation in his own district, but among those also of the other divisions, who looked upon him as the only impartial judge of the whole nation; whence such as thought themselves injured by unjust sentences, resorted from all parts to him, in order to obtain justice. At length the number of those, who applied to him for redress, increasing in proportion to the great fame of his equity, and the whole care of administering justice being devolved upon him, he unexpectedly absented himself from the place where he used to determine differences, declaring he would no longer perform that office, and submitting it to the judgement of his countrymen, whether it was reasonable that he should neglect his private affairs to attend those of the public. Hereupon rapine and all manner of wickedness prevailing again to such a degree, that it was not safe to live in the country, the Medes called a general assembly of the whole nation, to deliberate on the means of reforming the abuses that were daily becoming more frequent. Upon this occasion, those who were in the interest of Dejoces observed, that, if a stop was not put to the disorders, which had already overspread the land, they should soon be obliged to abandon their country to a foreign enemy. They, therefore, advised their countrymen to appoint a king of their own nation, as the only expedient that could rescue them from impending ruin. Their proposal was received with general approbation; Dejoces was named to the sovereignty, and, with universal applause placed upon the throne¹.

Yr. of Fl.
1638.
Ante Chr.
710.

Dejoces
chosen king.

He was no sooner elected king, and vested with the supreme power, than he threw off the mask, and commenced tyrant.

The first step he took, after his promotion, was to command his new subjects to build him a palace suitable

¹ Herodot. lib. i. cap. 95—99.

to his dignity, and to appoint him guards for the safety of his person. He was obeyed; and, on the ground which he chose, a strong and stately fabric was erected for his ordinary residence. At the same time he was allowed to choofe for his guard, out of the whole nation, such as he thought most proper for that trust. Thus settled on the throne, he united the several districts, into which the Medes had been divided during the anarchy, and turned his thoughts towards building a strong city, which might be the metropolis of his new kingdom. Accordingly the famous city of Ecbatan was built, pursuant to his orders and directions; a city which, in process of time, became very famous in those parts.

Dejoces, now lodged in a magnificent and well-defended city, enacted certain laws, to be observed by all his subjects of what rank soever. These imported, that no one should be admitted to his presence, but transact all things by his servants and ministers; that none should be allowed even to see him, that were not immediately of his household; and that for any, that attended him, to laugh or spit in his presence, should be accounted a great indecency, and contrary to the respect which is due to a sovereign. Though he kept himself thus concealed from the eyes of the people, yet he was informed of every thing that happened in his dominions, maintaining, for that end, many emissaries in all the provinces of his government, who brought him a minute account of every transaction^s.

Dejoces having thus civilized his unpolished subjects, began to entertain thoughts of extending the limits of his new kingdom; and, with this view, invaded Assyria, which was now in its decline, and greatly weakened by the revolt of many nations, who, following the example of the Medes, had shaken off the Assyrian yoke. But Saosduchinus, or Nabuchodonosor, at that time king of Assyria, meeting him in the great plain of Ragau, a battle ensued, in which the Medes were utterly defeated, and Dejoces himself slain, after a reign, according to Herodotus, of fifty-three years. Nabuchodonosor, following his blow, reduced several cities of Media, and, among the rest, Ecbatan itself, which he almost entirely destroyed^h.

He was succeeded by his son Phraortes, who being of a warlike temper, and not satisfied with the kingdom of Media, which his father had left, invaded Persia; and is said to have brought that nation under subjection to the

Yr. of Fl.
1692.
Ante Chr.
656.

Phraortes.

^s Herodot. lib. i. cap. 99-101.

^h Judith i. 14

Medes¹. But we are inclined to disagree with our author in this particular, and to ascribe the conquest of Persia, not to Phraortes, but to his son and successor Cyaxares. However, he subdued several of the neighbouring nations, attacking them one after another till he made himself master of almost all the Upper Asia, lying between Mount Taurus and the river Halys. Elated with the good success that attended his army, at length he invaded Assyria, made himself master of great part of the country, and even laid siege to Nineveh, the metropolis of the empire. But here his good fortune abandoning him, he perished, with the greater part of his army, in the attempt, after having reigned twenty-two years^k.

Yr. of Fl.

1713.
Ante Chr.
635.

Cyaxares I.

Upon the death of Phraortes his son Cyaxares was placed on the throne. He was a brave and enterprising prince; and, indeed, such a man was then more than ever wanting, to save the nation from impending slavery, most part of the kingdom being already possessed by the Assyrians. Having settled himself well in his kingdom, and brought his troops under good discipline (E), he soon recovered what the Assyrians had taken during the reigns of his father and grandfather. What he had next at heart was to avenge their death, by the destruction of Nineveh; accordingly, having assembled all his forces, he marched out, with a design to treat that city as Nebuchodonosor had treated the metropolis of Media. The Assyrians meeting him on the frontiers, with the remains only of that great army which had been destroyed before Bethulia, an engagement ensued, wherein the former were defeated, and driven into Nineveh. Cyaxares, pursuing his victory, laid close siege to the city, but was soon obliged to give over the enterprize, and employ his troops in the defence of his own kingdom^l.

*Scythians
invade
Asia.*

A formidable army of Scythians, having driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, were in full march in pursuit of their

¹ Herodot. ubi supra.
cap. 103.

^k Idem Ibidem.

^l Idem. ibid.

(E) He was the first, according to Herodotus, that marshalled the people of Asia into distinct bodies, of lances, cavalry, and archers; whereas, before his time, horse and foot, pikemen and archers, engaged promiscuously. But this we

can hardly believe, when we consider that the nations of this part of Asia were engaged in continual wars, and consequently must have been more experienced in the military art (1).

(1) Vid. Herodot. lib. i.

flying

lying enemies, and ready to enter Media. They were come from the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis, and commanded by king Madyes, the son of Protothyas. This Madyes can be no other than Indathyrus the Scythian, who invaded Asia, as Strabo informs us ^m, and, having laid waste great part of that country, advanced to the confines of Egypt. Cyaxares no sooner heard of their march, than breaking up the siege of Nineveh, he advanced with all his forces against them. The two armies engaged; and the Medes, though encouraged by the example of their king, who, on that occasion, gave proofs of an extraordinary valour, were utterly routed. The conquerors having no other enemy to contend with, over-run not only all Media, but the greater part of Upper Asia. From thence they extended their conquests into Syria, as far as the confines of Egypt. But Psammeticus, king of that country, meeting them in person, prevailed upon those barbarians, partly by intreaties, and partly by presents, to proceed no farther; and thereby saved his country from the heavy oppression which his neighbours groaned under ⁿ. In this expedition the Scythians possessed themselves of the city Beth-Sheam, in the territories of the tribe of Manasseh, on this side the Jordan, and held it as long as they continued in Asia; whence it is called Scythopolis, or the city of the Scythians ^o. On their return from Egypt, as they passed through the land of the Philistines, some of the stragglers plundered the temple of Venus at Ascalon, which was believed the most ancient in the world dedicated to that goddess. To avenge this outrage, the goddess is said to have inflicted on those who were concerned in the sacrilege, and their posterity, the hæmorrhoids.

The Scythians were, for the space of twenty-eight years, masters of the Upper Asia, namely the two Armenias, Cappadocia, Pontus, Colchus, Iberia, and great part of Lydia. Cyaxares, finding it impracticable to get rid of his troublesome guests by open force, resolved to try what might be effected by stratagem; and accordingly invited the greatest part of them to a general feast, which was given in every family. Each host intoxicated his guest; and in that condition were the Scythians massacred, and the kingdom delivered from a long and cruel bondage. The Medes then repossessed themselves

^m Strabo, lib. i. prope initium.
lib. ii. cap. 1. & lib. vii. cap. 20.

ⁿ Herodot. lib. i. cap. 105.
^o Syncel. p. 214.

of the provinces they had lost, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the Halys, which was their ancient boundary westward^p.

Cyaxares, having thus freed his country from the oppression of the Scythians, found himself soon after engaged in a war with the Lydians. The occasion of this war is thus related by Herodotus^q. Upon a sedition that happened among the Scythian Nomades, a party of them made their escape into Media; where they were not only entertained with great humanity by Cyaxares; but entrusted with the education of divers youths, whom they were to instruct in the use of the bow, and in the Scythian language. These strangers went frequently to hunt, and often regaled Cyaxares with part of their game; but being one day unsuccessful, that prince treated them with most opprobrious language. This they resented, and agreed to kill one of the youths committed to their care, dress his flesh like venison, and serve it up to Cyaxares and his guests. They executed what they proposed; and then flying to Sardis, implored the protection of Halyattes king of Lydia. Cyaxares immediately dispatched ambassadors to demand the Scythians; but they not being able to prevail with the king of Lydia to deliver them up, a war of five years ensued between the two nations, with various success (F). The battle, fought in the sixth year of this war, was very remarkable, on account of a total eclipse of the sun, which happened during the engagement, and

^p Herodot. lib. i. cap. 106.

^q Herodot. lib. i. cap. 73, 74.

(F) This Herodotus delivers as the occasion of a war between the Medes and the Lydians; the one king demanding the fugitives, and the other refusing to deliver up such as had put themselves under his protection. But to us, we must own, it does not at all seem probable, that the Scythians should have sheltered themselves from their own countrymen in the dominions of either prince, considering how odious the Scythian name must have been in both kingdoms. As to Cyaxares, they

had particular reasons to distrust him, for the treachery he had shewn towards their countrymen, as we have related above. Some writers, therefore, with greater probability, suppose, that the Scythians, who retired into Lydia, were such as had escaped the massacre in Media, and not any other new colony; for that universal slaughter being fresh in their memories, it is very unlikely, that other Scythians would have come to settle in the country where it had been so lately perpetrated.

as said to have been foretold by Thales the Milesian (G). The Medes and Lydians, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this uncommon event, which they looked upon as a sign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated, and soon after concluded a peace, by the mediation of Labynetus, that is Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and Syennesis, king of Cilicia. This peace was strengthened by a marriage between Aryetis, the daughter of Halyattes, and Astyages, the eldest son of Cyaxares¹; of which marriage was born, the ensuing year, Cyaxares, who, in the book of Daniel, is called Darius the Mede².

Cyaxares's first care, as soon as he was disengaged from the Lydian war, was to resume the siege of Nineveh, which the irruption of the Scythians had obliged him to raise. Having, with this view, entered into a strict alliance with Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and confirmed it by a marriage between that prince and his daughter Amytis, he returned, in conjunction with the Babylonians, before Nineveh, took the place, slew Sarac the king, and levelled that mighty city with the ground³ (H).

This victory, with the destruction of Nineveh, the Jews ascribe to the Chaldeans; the Greeks to the Medes; Tobit, Polyhistor, Josephus, and Ctesias, to both. It gave a beginning to the great successes of Nebuchadnezzar and

Yr. of Fl.
1747.
Ante Chr.
601.

*Nineveh
taken and
destroyed.*

¹ Herodot. lib. i. cap. 73, 74. ² Dan. v. 31. ³ Herodot. lib. i. cap. 106. ⁴ Alex. Polyhist. ap. Euseb. in Chron. p. 46. & ap. Syncel. p. 210.

(G) That this eclipse happened, while Cyaxares, the father of Astyages, and Halyattes the father of Cræsus, were engaged in a battle, is confirmed by Endemus, in his Astronomical History.

(H) On the ruins of the old Nineveh, another city was raised, which for a long time bore the same name, but never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is now called Mosul, situated on the west side of the Tigris, where was anciently only a part of the suburbs of the old Nineveh; for the city itself stood on the

east side of the river. The circuit of Nineveh was, according to Diodorus Siculus, four hundred and eighty stadia, that is, sixty of our miles. Hence it is said by Jonah to be a city of three days journey, that is, in compass; for twenty miles is as much as a man can well walk in one day. Strabo tells us, that it was much larger than Babylon, and in the same place says, that the circuit of Babylon was three hundred and eighty-five furlongs, that is, forty-eight of our miles.

Cyaxares, and laid a foundation of the two collateral empires, as we may call them, of the Medes and Babylonians, which rose on the ruins of the Assyrian monarchy.

After the reduction of Nineveh, the two conquerors, prosecuting their victory, led the confederate army against Pharaoh-Necho king of Egypt, who had, some time before, routed the king of Assyria, and taken Carchemish. Pharaoh met them near the Euphrates, where he was defeated, and forced to abandon whatever he had formerly taken from the Assyrians[†]; for what once belonged to them, Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar looked upon now as theirs by right of conquest. After this victory, they seized upon the important place of Carchemish, and reduced all Cœlesyria and Phœnice; then, with an army of Babylonians, Medes, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, to the number of ten thousand chariots, a hundred and eighty thousand foot, and a hundred and twenty thousand horse, they invaded and laid waste Samaria, Galilee, and Scythopolis; at last they besieged Jerusalem, and took Jehoiakim prisoner[‡]. Enriched with the spoils of the conquered nations, they divided their forces, Nebuchadnezzar pursuing his conquests in the West, and Cyaxares falling upon the Assyrian provinces of Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, which he subdued, with great slaughter of the inhabitants. They afterwards united their forces once more, and, by the reduction of Persis and Susiana, accomplished the conquest of the Assyrian empire.

The prophet Ezekiel[§] enumerates the chief nations that were subdued and slaughtered by the two conquerors Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar: "Ashur is there, and all her company, (viz. in hades, or the lower parts of the earth, where the dead bodies lay buried), his graves are about him: all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which caused their terror in the land of the living. There is Elam, and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth, which caused their terror in the land of the living; yet have they borne their shame with them that go down into the pit.—There is Meshech, Tubal, and all her multitude (viz. the Scythians): her graves are round about him: all of

[†] 2 Kings xxiv. 7. Jerem. xli. 2. Eupol. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 35. [‡] 2 Kings xxiv. 12. Dan. i. 1. & 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. [§] Ezek. xxxii. 22, & seqq.

them uncircumcised, slain by the sword, though they caused their terror in the land of the living.—There is Edom, her kings and all her princes, which, with their might are laid by them that were slain by the sword.—There be the princes of the North, all of them, and all the Zidonians, which with their terror, are gone down with the slain.” By the princes of the North are meant such as were on the north of Judæa, namely, the princes of Armenia and Cappadocia, who fell in the wars which Cyaxares waged in reducing those provinces, after the destruction of Nineveh.

Cyaxares, having thus erected the kingdom of Media into a powerful empire, and shared the new acquisitions with his Babylonian ally, died, in the fortieth year of his reign¹; and was succeeded by his son,

Astyages, who in Scripture is called Akasuerus. This prince had, by Aryenis, the daughter of Halyattes king of Lydia, Cyaxares the Second, called, in Scripture, Darius the Mede, who was sixty-two years old when Belshazzar was slain at the taking of Babylon. The same year that Cyaxares was born, Astyages gave his daughter Mandane, whom he had by a former wife, to Cambyles, a Persian; from which marriage sprung Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, and the restorer of the Jews to their country, their temple, and former condition. He was born but one year after the birth of his uncle Cyaxares, and consequently was in the sixty-first year of his age, when Babylon was taken. Whether his father Cambyles was king of Persia, as Xenophon² would have it, or only a nobleman of that country, as we read in Herodotus³, is what we shall not at present examine. Though the reign of Astyages was very long; having lasted thirty-five years, yet we find no particulars of it recorded in history, except his repulsing the Babylonians, who, under the conduct of Evil-Merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, had made an inroad into his country, as we have related in the history of Babylon. The victory which he gained on this occasion, was, in great part, owing to the valour and conduct of Cyrus, who attended his grandfather in this expedition, and, though at that time but sixteen years of age, signalized himself in a very particular manner, pursuing the Babylonian, with great slaughter, to his own borders. This rash and seemingly unjust under-

Yr. of Fl.
1753.
Ante Chr.
595—
Astyages.

¹ Herodot. lib. i. cap. 107.
² Herodot. lib. i. cap. 107.

³ Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. i.

taking of Evil-Merodach, laid the foundation of that animosity between the Medes and Babylonians, which terminated in the ruin of Babylon. From hence we may infer, that Evil-Merodach was not the son of Nebuchadnezzar, by Amyite, the daughter, of Cyaxares, or as others will have it, of Astyages, but by some other wife; it not being likely, that they would have thus engaged in war against each other, had they been so nearly related. It is still more improbable, that Evil-Merodach should undertake such hostilities, while he was on the point of marrying Nitocris, as is commonly reported, who was by birth a Mede.

Yr. of Fl.

588.

Ante Chr.

560.

Cyaxares

II.

Astyages, after a reign of thirty-five years, was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, uncle to Cyrus. This prince was scarce seated on his throne, when he found himself engaged in a bloody war with Neriglissar, who had murdered Evil-Merodach, and usurped the crown of Babylon. The war was carried on with great slaughter on both sides by Cyaxares and Cyrus, during the reigns of the usurper Neriglissar, of his son Laborosoarchod, and of Nabonadius, the son of Evil-Merodach, and grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, in whose time Babylon was taken, and the Babylonian empire utterly ruined. But we shall defer the relating of these important events till the reign of that great and glorious prince, which, as he was the founder of the Persian monarchy, we shall reserve to the history of that empire.

As for Cyaxares, he is said, in Scripture, to have taken the kingdom, after the reduction of Babylon, and death of Belshazzar¹; for Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in partnership with him, though he had entirely acquired it by his own valour; nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he suffered him to enjoy the first rank: but the command of the army, and the whole management of affairs, being vested in Cyrus, he alone was looked upon as the supreme governor of the empire; and hence it is, that in Ptolemy's Canon no notice is taken of Cyaxares; but, immediately after the death of Nabonadius, Cyrus is placed there as the next successor. But that a Mede reigned at Babylon, after the death of Nabonadius, or, as Herodotus calls him, Labynetus, the last Babylonian king in the Canon, is plain both from Xenophon² and Scripture. The former tells us, that after the

¹ Dan. v. 31.

² Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. viii.

taking of Babylon, Cyrus went to the king of the Medes at Ecbatan, and succeeded him in the kingdom: and we read in Scripture, that Babylon was destroyed by the Medes^a; "by the kings of the Medes, and the captains and rulers thereof, and all the land of his dominion^b;" that the kingdom of Babylon was "numbered, and finished, and broken, and given to the Medes and Persians;" first to the Medes under Darius, and then to the Persians under Cyrus: for Darius reigned over Babylon like a conqueror, not observing the laws of the Babylonians, but introducing the immutable laws of the conquering nations; the Medes and Persians^c. This king can be no other than Cyaxares, as Xenophon calls him^d, or Darius the Mede; as he is styled by Daniel. The Scripture ascribes the destruction of Babylon chiefly to Cyaxares, whereof St. Hierom alleges three reasons: first, because Darius or Cyaxares was the elder of the two; secondly, because the Medes were at that time more famous than the Persians; and, lastly, because the uncle ought to be preferred to the nephew. On the other hand, that few of the Greek writers take any notice of Cyaxares, may easily be accounted for: the Persians, desirous to magnify and extol Cyrus, their countryman, gave him all the glory of that conquest; and from them the Greeks borrowed their relations: besides, Cyrus alone was employed in the siege of Babylon, Darius being then absent; and the confederate army under his conduct stormed the town, and put an end to the empire of Babylon. But Josephus, who was better informed, tells us^e, that Darius, with his ally, Cyrus, destroyed the kingdom of Babylon. The same author adds, that this Darius was the son of Astyages; and that he was known to the Greeks by another name. Now if we ask the Greeks the name of Astyages's son, Xenophon^f will tell us, that he was called Cyaxares: As for the name of Darius, it was preserved in the Darics, or Stateres Darici, those famous pieces of gold, which, for several ages, were preferred by the eastern nations to any other coin; for we are told^g, that these were coined, not by the father of Xerxes, but by an earlier Darius, the first king of the Medes and Persians that coined gold. But no Darius more ancient than the father of Xerxes is any

^a Isa. xlii. 27. 19.

^b Jer. li. 11. 23.

^c Dan. vi. 8.

72. 15.

^d Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. i. cap. 19.

^e Joseph.

Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 13.

^f Xenoph. ubi supra.

^g Suidas sub

voce *Δαρικεύς*. Harpocraton. Scholiast. in Aristoph. Eccles. p. 742.

742.

where

where said to have reigned, except this Darius, whom the Scripture calls Darius the Mede.

After the reduction of Babylon, Cyaxares, in concert with Cyrus, settled the affairs of their new empire, dividing it into a hundred and twenty provinces^b, which were governed by those who had distinguished themselves during the war. Over these governors were appointed three presidents, who were constantly to reside at court, and receiving accounts of what happened in the several provinces, dispatch the king's orders to the immediate officers; so that these three principal ministers had the superintendency over, and the chief administration of, the most weighty affairs of the whole kingdom. Of these Daniel was appointed the chief; an honour which he highly deserved, not only on account of his great wisdom, but likewise for his age and consummate experience; for he had now served the kings of Babylon full sixty-five years, in the quality of prime minister. As this employment advanced him to be the next person to the king, it raised no small jealousy in the other courtiers, who, in conspiring against him, would have compassed his ruin, had he not been miraculously preserved. As the only article they could lay hold of to disgrace him at court, and make him incur the king's displeasure, was the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they prevailed with Darius to issue a proclamation, forbidding all persons to put up any petition whatsoever to God or man, except to the king, for the space of thirty days, upon pain of being cast into the lion's den. Now as Daniel was offering up his usual prayers, with his face turned toward Jerusalem, he was surprised, accused, and, as the laws of the Medes were unalterable, condemned to be devoured by the lions; but being miraculously delivered from their jaws, this malicious contrivance ended in the destruction of its authors, and greatly raised Daniel's reputation both with Darius and Cyrus^c. This event probably happened while Cyrus was in Syria; for after having settled his affairs at Babylon, and furnished the garrison with such troops as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, which he brought under subjection with the other adjacent countries, extending his conquests as far as the Red Sea, and the confines of Ethiopia. In the mean time Darius remained at Babylon, managing the civil affairs of the empire; and in this interval was Da-

^b Dan. vi. 1, 2.

^c Idem *ibid.* ver. 4, 5, 6, &c. ad finem.

niel cast into the lion's den. The Darics were, perhaps, coined much about the same time, out of the gold of the conquered Lydians (I). But in the reign of Cyrus, we shall give a more distinct account of several particulars relating to his two predecessors, Cyaxares and Astyages.



C H A P. XIII.

The History of the Persians.

S E C T. I.

The Description of Persia.

THIS country, like many others, has, in different ages, been called by different denominations. Persia is, *its several names.* by Moses^k, called Elam, or, as some write it, Elamat, from Elam the son of Shem, the father of the first inhabitants. Herodotus calls its inhabitants Cepheneſ; and, in very ancient times, the people of this country called themselves Artæi, and the region wherein they dwell, Artæa^l. In the books of Daniel, Eſdras, &c. we find it called Paras, agreeable to the Persian denomination of Pars, or Phârs, by which the proper Persia is called at this time. It has also been called Achæmenia^m, and Arsacia, from its ancient kings. Inⁿ oriental writers it is called Agjem, Irân, and Shahiſtân, which last signifies *the dominions of the shâh*. It is true, that, strictly speaking, Achæmenia and Irân are not general names of Persia, but rather parts of that country; yet, as they are frequently used in authors to signify that country which we call Persia, they may very well be comprehended in this list of names (K).

The

^k Genes. x. 22. xiv. ^l Jerem. xxv. 25. Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 7. ^m Hyde Relig. Vet. Persar. p. 413. ⁿ Horat. lib. iii. od. i. ver. 44. Ovid de Arte, lib. i. ver. 226. ^o Hyde, ubi supra. Chardin's Travels, tom. iii. p. 2, 3.

(I) This piece, according to Dr. Bernard, weighed two grains more than one of our guineas; but as it had very little alloy, it may be reckoned, as the proportion of gold and silver now stands with us, to have been worth twenty-five shillings.

(K) Commentators suppose that the Elamites, or ancestors of the Persians, were descended from

Extent.

The extent of Persia has been, in different ages, as various as its names. Ptolemy^m bounds it thus; on the north it hath Media; on the east Carmania; on the west Susiana; on the south the Persian Gulph; but this relates to Persia as a province. We consider it in another light; and therefore, to speak as clearly and distinctly as we are able, let us first assign the boundaries of the Persian empire, as they stood anciently, when it extended farthest; let us next settle the boundaries of the modern

^m Geogr. lib. vi. cap. 4.

from Elam, the son of Shem. As to the word Paras, authors are not very well agreed about its etymology, or signification: some derive it from the Arabic word phâris, which signifies a *horse*. Certain Persian historians say, that Phars is a proper name, and that the person so called was the son of Arsham, i. e. Arphaxad, the son of Shem: others make this Phars the son of Japhet, &c. It is evident, however, that the Greek word Persis, and the Latin word Persia, are derived from this oriental denomination, and not from this country's being conquered by Perseus. The name Artaxi is thought to be derived from the Persian word art, or art, which signifies *strong, brave, magnanimous*, intimating that the people of this country were such in their dispositions. Achæmenia, as Stephanus Byzantius informs us, was only a part of Persia: Strabo says nearly the same thing; yet sometimes it is used to signify Persia in general, as particularly by Herodotus, who makes Cambyfes, in an oration, call his people Achæmenidæ. In the Armenian language, Persia is styled

Shahistân, i. e. *the country of the shâh*. The Arabians gave the name of Agemeslaan to Persia, because in their language agem signifies *stranger*, or rather *barbarian*; which, with great modesty, they impose upon every other nation but their own: hence the distinction of Arak-Arab, and Arak-Agem, which signifies as much as *the towns of the Arabs*, and *the towns of the Barbarians*. The Persians themselves call their country generally Iroun, and Iran; for this reason they say, that under the reign of king Effrasiab, their empire contained all the countries between the Caspian Sea and China. This monarch divided his mighty empire into two parts, calling that on the other side of the river Oxus, Touran, and this Iran, i. e. *on the other side of the river*, and *on this side of the river*: whence, in the ancient Persian histories, Key-Iran, and Key-Touran, signified *the king of Persia*, and *the king of Tartary*. At this day, the Persian monarch is styled Padcha Iran, and the grand viceroy of Persia, Iran Medary, i. e. *the pole of Persia* (2).

(2) Vide Chardin's Voy. vol. iii. p. 3.

Persian empire; and thirdly, let us review the several provinces mentioned by ancient writers, and, as we proceed, give some account of their present condition.

As to the ancient^a empire of the Persians, it reached in length from the Hellespont to the mouth of the river Indus, about two thousand eight hundred English miles; in breadth from Pontus to the mouth of the Arabian Gulph, about two thousand miles. Boundaries.

The^o modern Persia, that is the dominions of the Persian crown, extend in length from the mouth of the river Araxes to the mouth of the Indus, about one thousand eight hundred and forty of our miles; and in breadth, from the river Oxus to the Persian Gulph, about one thousand and eighty of our miles; bounded thus; on the north, by the Caspian Sea, the river Oxus, and Mount Caucasus; on the east by the river Indus, and the dominions of the Great Mogul, as he is commonly called; on the south by the Persian Gulph, and the Indian Ocean; and on the west, by the dominions of the Grand Signior.

In our account of the provinces, into which the country was anciently divided, we shall begin with Gedrosia, mentioned by Pliny, Strabo, and other writers. It is bounded on the west by Carmania; on the east by Guzarat, a province of India; on the south by the Indian Ocean. It is called at present Makran. Of old it was inhabited by the Arbitæ, Parsiræ Masarnæi, and the Rhamnæ. Its principal cities were Pasis, Arbis, and Cuni. Ptolemy places here a celebrated emporium, called the Haven of Women. The principal modern cities are Firhk^p, Chalak, and the port of Guadal (L). Gedrosia.

Carmania

^a Cluver. Geogr. lib. v. cap. 13.

^o Idem, ubi supra.

^p Voyages de Tavernier, lib. iv. cap. 8.

(L) Though Gedrosia be constantly so called by Strabo and Ptolemy, yet Diodorus Siculus, Suidas, and some manuscripts of Ammianus Marcellinus, read Cedrosia. Mount Becius, or rather a ridge of mountains runs through the middle of the province; and from them springs the celebrated river Arbis, or Arabis, which, after a short course, runs into the Indian Ocean. At the mouth of this river stood the *Γυναικῶν λιμὴν*, or *Port of Women*, of Ptolemy, mentioned also by Arrian, in his Indian History, who tells us, that this place was so called, because it was first governed by a woman. The soil of this province was sandy and barren, very deficient in water, and the air intemperately hot; so that Alexander's army suffered excessively here, notwithstanding

Carmania. Carmania is divided into Carmania the Desert, and Carmania Proper. Carmania the Desert is bounded on the north by Parthia; on the west by Persis; on the east by Drangiana; on the south by Carmania Proper. Carmania Proper hath on the south the Indian Ocean; on the west Persis, and the Gulph of Persia; on the east Gedrosia; and on the north Carmania the Desert. It contains the modern provinces of Cherman and Ormas. It was inhabited by the Isaticæ, Zuthi, Gadanopydres, Camelobosci, Agdonites, Rhudianæ, Ares, Charadæ, Pasargadæ, and Armozæi. Its ancient cities were Carmanæ, now Khirman, still a considerable place, and famous for excellent scimiters; Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great; Armuza, or Armuzum, on the shore of the gulph, giving name to a promontory, and to the island of Ormuz. The modern places of note besides are Khirman, Bermazir, Kuhestek, and Isfuez, which last gives name to a cape or promontory shooting into the Persian Gulph (M).

Drangiana,

¶ Ptol. lib. vi. cap. 6.
Voy. lib. iv. cap. i.

¶ Lib. vi. cap. 8.

¶ Tavern.

withstanding they built their huts with aromatic wood, and met with spices in profusion. Ptolemy mentions two islands dependent on this province, Astea, and Codane. Arrian, speaking of the voyage of Nearchus, tells us, he observed several others.

(M) Though other authors speak of Carmania in general, yet Ptolemy makes not only the difference before noted in the text, but interposes the description of Arabia Felix between Carmania Deserta, and Carmania Proper. As to the first, it is very truly what Ptolemy calls it, having scarce a town or a village in it, its soil being an inhospitable sand, its air hot and unhealthy, and the whole province, in a manner, destitute of water. Carmania Proper is a better coun-

try, watered by several rivers, particularly the Andanis, mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy. It is mountainous, though with this advantage, that these mountains have mines of copper and iron. The people anciently, however, lived in no very desirable condition, if the description given us by Pomponius Mela be true. At this day this province is particularly remarkable for producing sheep, which bear the finest wool in the world; they have this peculiar property, that having fed upon new grass from January to May, their fleece falls off of itself, and leaves the sheep quite naked; the wool being gathered, and beaten, the coarse breaks away, and the fine only remains. The Gaurs have the whole manufacture of this wool in

Drangiana², bounded on the south by Gedrosia; on the east, by Arachosia; on the north by Aria; on the west by Carmania the Desert; derived its name, as some say, from the river Drangius, and is called by the modern Persians, Sigistan. It was anciently peopled by the Darandæ and the Batrii. Ptolemy reckons ten considerable cities in this province, the most famous of which were Ariaspæ and Prophthasia. Those now of any note are Sistan, supposed, by some, to be the ancient city last mentioned, Chalek, and Kets (N).

Arachosia is bounded on the west by Drangiana; on the north by Paropamisus; on the east, by the river Indus; on the south by Gedrosia. Its modern name is not well settled. It was inhabited of old by the Arimaspi, afterwards called Margyetæ, and then Euergetæ, the Sydrî, Roplutæ, and Eortæ. Ptolemy reckons up thirteen cities in this province. We shall content ourselves with mentioning only three; Arachotus, built on a lake of the same name, by the famous Semiramis, who is said to

² Ptol. lib. vi. cap. 19.

² Tavern. Voy. ubi supra.

in their hands, which consists in girdles much esteemed through the East, and in a sort of serges, as soft, and almost as fine as silk (2). Dependent on this province is the little but famous island of Ormuz, in compass about twenty miles, stony and full of rocks, barren and destitute of all necessaries, except salt, of which there is such plenty, and so hard, that it is said to be used in building houses. The soil is composed of a white sand, formerly imported into Europe. Water (except such as after rains is preserved in cisterns) it hath none; so that, even in its most flourishing times, when it was the emporium of this part of the world, its inhabitants had not only their victuals, but also the very water they used, from the

continent. The air in summer was so excessively sultry, that people were forced to live in grotts (3).

(N) A ridge of mountains, the principal of which is called Bagous, runs through this country; and from thence some have fancied, that there ran a river called Drangius, from whence this country took its name; but of this there is no certainty. The province is not large, and every where hilly, far from abounding with any rich commodities; and therefore never very famous, either in ancient or modern times. At present, it is only so from its being reported to have been the birth-place of Rustan, the celebrated hero of oriental romances.

(2) Vide Tavernier, in Harris's Collection, vol. ii. p. 307.
(3) Mandello's Travels, in Harris's Collection, vol. ii. p. 118.

have

have given it the name of Cophes; Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great, and by some thought to be the same with the city now called Cabul; and Arbaca, supposed to have derived its name from some of the kings of Parthia named Arbaces. As to modern towns of note, we know of none.

Paropamisus.

Paropamisus, bounded on the west by Aria; on the north by Bactria; on the east by the dominions of the Mogul; on the south by Arachosia; is called by the moderns Sablestan, including likewise the kingdom of Candahar. Its ancient inhabitants were the Bolitæ, Aristophili, Ambantæ, Parietæ, and Parsii. Its chief cities Ortospanum, and Naulibis. Modern cities there are many of great note, such as Beckfabat, Asbe, Bust, strengthened with one of the finest castles in Persia, and adorned with various beautiful caravanseras (O).

Bactriana.

Bactriana * or Bactria, now called Chorassan, anciently inhabited by the Salataræ, Zariaspe, Chomatri, Comi, Acinacæ, Tambyzi, Thocaræ, a powerful people, and several other nations of less note. It was in the first ages of the world, a very famous kingdom. In later times it boasted a thousand cities; the chief of these were Bactra and Ebusmi, both royal cities, as Ptolemy tells us, Maracanda, and Charracharta. Its modern cities of note are also numerous; but we shall not mention them here, because we shall have occasion hereafter to consider this country more particularly.

Margiana.

Margiana is bounded on the west by Hyrcania; on the north by Tartary; on the south by Aria; and on the east by Bactria, now called Eftarabad. It is divided from Tartary by the river Oxus, called by the modern Persians Ruth-Khané-Kurkan; and was inhabited anciently by the Derbicæ, the Massagetæ, who came hither from Scy-

* Tavern. Voy. tom i. lib. iii. p. 394.

* Ptol. lib. vi.

cap. 11.

† Tavern. Voy. lib. iv. cap. 1.

(O) The soil of this country, in general, is not over fruitful, the province being full of hills, which however, by overshadowing the vallies, render them cool and pleasant. We have observed above, that the kingdom of Candahar is included within the ancient province of Paropamisus. This little realm hath for its capital

a city of the same name, which is looked upon to be the best fortified place in all this part of Asia. As the caravans pass constantly through it, in going to, or coming from India, it is consequently a place rich and full of trade. Tavernier has given us an ample description of it, at the end of his fifth book of Travels.

this,

thia, the Parni, the Dax, and the Tapurni. Among its cities of note ^z, we may reckon Alexandria, one of the six cities of that name in Persia, afterwards called Antiochia, and, after that, Seleucia; Nigæa, or rather Nysæa, mentioned by Ptolemy. As to modern places of note, Estarabad, Amul, and Damkau, deserve chiefly to be mentioned (P).

Hyrkania ^a is bounded on the north by the Caspian sea, called sometimes Mare Hyrcanum, from its washing the shore of this province; on the west by Media; on the south by Parthia; and on the east by Margiana, called now Mazanderan, and including likewise the province of Kylan. The old inhabitants of this province were the Maxeræ, Aftabeni, and Chrindi. Its ancient capital was called Hyrcania, as well as the province; nor has it, at this distance of time, much changed its name, since it is still named Hyrcana. Sambrace was likewise a considerable and very strong place, at the time when Arfaces began to lay the foundation of his empire. Modern places of note, are Ferh-Abad ^b, a port seated on a navigable arm of the Caspian Sea, a fine city, much frequented by Russian merchants, as not being above a fortnight's sail from Astracan: Giru, Talarapefet, Ciarkan, and Escres, are also principal places in this country (Q).

Aria,

^z Cluv. Geog. lib. v. cap. 13. ^a Ptol. lib. vi. cap. 9. ^b Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels, in Harris's Collect. vol. i. p. 434.

(P) Many ancient authors agree in commending the situation of this province, begirt as it is with high mountains, watered with pleasant rivers; amongst the rest with the noble river Oxus, so famous in Greek and Latin authors. It is likewise celebrated for its fertility in vines, of such an extraordinary size, that two men can scarce fathom the trunk of one of them, bearing clusters, some of which are two cubits long. Antiochus Soter was so much pleased with the beauty of this country, that he not only built a magnificent city there, but even enclosed the whole plain, watered by the rivers Aria and Margue, with a wall, fifteen hundred stadia in circuit (3). Estarabad, its present capital, is chiefly remarkable for the fine druggets, and other excellent woollen goods manufactured there (4).

(Q) Ancient writers agree, in representing Hyrcania as a country fruitful in wine, wheat, figs, and all other kinds of fruits; here and there, however, interpersed with meadows and pasture lands; and in some

(3) Vide Strabo, lib. xi. p. 355. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 16.
(4) Tavern. vol. i. p. 397.

Aria.

Aria^c, bounded on the north by Margiana, and Bactria; on the west by Parthia, and Carmania the Desert; on the south, by Drangiana; on the east by Paropamisus, now comprehended under the province of Chorasan. It was anciently inhabited by the Nisæi, Aftaveni, Mufdorani, Cassiortæ, Obares, Elymandri, and the Borgi. Its principal cities of old were these: Aria, seated on the river Arias, mentioned by Pliny, thought to be the same city, which is still famous under the name of Heri, or Herat, rebuilt and splendidly adorned by the sultan Heuffien Mirza; Alexandria, built by Alexander, who settled a colony of Macedonians there; Artacanda, called by Strabo^d Artacana, and Bitaxa (R).

Parthia.

Parthia^e, bounded on the west by Media; on the north by Hyrcania; on the east by Aria; on the south by Carmania the Desert; surrounded with mountains, which serve for boundaries on every side; at this day called Erak, or Arak; and, to distinguish it from Chaldæa, which is likewise called Erak, this is denominated Erac-

^c Ptol. lib. vi. cap. 17.^d Cluv. Geogr. lib. xi. p. 330.^e Idem. lib. vi. cap. 5.

places with the less pleasant prospect of thick woods, abounding with wild beasts of almost every kind, even to a proverb. As to its present condition, nothing can be more amazing than the wide difference there is between the accounts given us by persons of credit and capacity; and who have had equal opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the things of which they treat.

(R) Aria was anciently a very populous country, though much subject to heats; and intermixed with deserts, heaths, and forests, near the mountains; however, where the heat of the sun is a little decreased, they have very fruitful plains; and these among other things, produce grapes, the

wine of which hath so strong a body, as to keep fourscore or a hundred years, without diminution of colour or flavour. The ancient city of Aria, now known by the name of Heri, or Herat, is still large and populous. Sir Thomas Herbert, in his Travels, tells us, that when he was there, he found it under a governor of its own; and adds, that the adjoining country abounds with roses, of which they make a water much stronger in its smell than that which is distilled in Europe. There are likewise (says another eminent traveller), admirable tapestries made in the neighbourhood of this place, such as transcend, not only the tapestries of Europe, but even those that come from the rest of the Persian looms (1).

(1) Vide Harris's Collect. vol. i. p. 435.

Agami. The ancient Parthians^f are said to have been originally Celtes, of whom we shall speak in the sequel; who, being driven out of their own country, settled here, and had this name given them, which in their own, that is, in the Celtic language, signified *separated*, or *put away*. Ptolemy reckons twenty-five large cities within this province; and it must certainly have been very populous, since many cities, and about two thousand villages, are reckoned to have been destroyed by earthquakes. Its capital was Hecatompalus, so called from its having a hundred gates, a noble and magnificent place, and so lucky as to remain, as some think, still the capital of Persia, under the name of Hispahan, or rather Spauhawn. Modern towns of note are ^g, Touchercau, and Hamadan, a very considerable place, and especially noted for great herds of cattle fed in its neighbourhood, producing great quantities of butter, cheese, and hides; Chachan, Com, Casbin, &c. (S), and some others less considerable.

Persis,

^f Cluv. ubi supra.

^g Tavern. Voy. lib. iv. cap. 1.

(S) It is not easy to fix the derivation of the capital of Parthia. In ancient times, Polybius says, that it was called Hecatompylos; because all the roads through the Parthian dominions centered here. Curtius says, that it was built by the Greeks; but by whom, or at what time, he informs us not. It should seem, that Hecatompylos is rather a Greek interpretation of the true name of this city, than the real name thereof; but then what name this was in the Parthian language, we pretend not to say, it not having been recorded by any author we have met with. The present city of Spauhawn, or Isfahan, is unanimously acknowledged to be of no great antiquity; but, it is not very clear at what time it received the name by which it is now known. Certain it is, that Spauhawn owes the glory it

now possesses to the great Shah Abbas, who, after the conquest of the kingdoms of Lar and Ormus, charmed with the situation of this place, made it the capital of his empire, between the years 1620 and 1628. All who speak of Spauhawn, are agreed, that nothing can be more beautiful in nature than the situation: it stands in a plain, fertile and spacious, surrounded with mountains, which defend it alike from the sultry heats of summer, and the piercing winds of the winter season. Through this plain run several rivers, which water Spauhawn, and contribute alike to its ornament and use. The first of these is the river Zenderoud, over which there are three fine bridges. This river takes its rise in the mountains of Jayabat, three days journey from the city, and is but a small stream of itself;

Persis.

Persis^h, bounded on the north by Media; on the west by Sufiana; on the east by the Carmanias; on the south by the Persian Gulf, called now Pars, or Phars; anciently inhabited by the Mesabatæ, Rapsii, Hippophagi, Suzæi, Megores, Stabæi, &c. Ancient cities of note were, Persepolis, the metropolis of the ancient Persian empire; Axima; Marasium, called now Marazu; Toace, the capital of a district of the same name; Pasargada, built by Cyrus, and honoured with his tombⁱ. As to modern cities, there are many of great note, and amongst these Shiras, Benaron, Lar, Bender-Abasse or Gombroon, and Bender-Congo, are reckoned the most considerable (T).

Sufiana,

^h Ptol. lib. vi. cap. 4.
cap. i. p. 412.

ⁱ Tavern. Voy. tom. ii. lib. 1. &

but Abbas the Great cut a channel, whereby he brought a more considerable stream to fall into this river, for the greater convenience of his favourite metropolis. The extent of it is very great, not less perhaps than twenty miles within the walls: these are of earth, poorly built, and so covered with houses and shaded with gardens, that in many places it is difficult to discover them; a defect not peculiar to this city, but common to most of the great towns of Persia; whence many travellers have been led to represent them as not walled at all (2).

(T) This country is very frequently mentioned in ancient authors; and therefore we are the better enabled to give an account of its former, as well as present state. Such parts of it as lie towards the north, are hilly and barren, bearing neither fruit nor corn sufficient for the use of the in-

habitants: some emeralds, indeed, are there found, but of no great value. On the coast of the Persian Gulf, the soil is as bad, though of a different nature, being hot and sandy, and producing few other trees than palms; but between these there lies a rich and pleasant region, abounding with corn, fruit, and cattle, and better watered, though but by small rivers, than most of the other districts within this wide empire. As to Persepolis, the ancient capital of this province, and of the old empire of the Persians, Diodorus Siculus informs us, that it was the richest city in the world at the time it was subdued by Alexander. "The city of Schiras, which many will have to be the ancient Cyropolis, the metropolis of the province of Persia, lies in seventy-eight degrees fifteen minutes longitude, and twenty-nine degrees thirty-six minutes latitude. It

(2) Vide Travels of Holstein Ambassadors. Taverner's Voyages. Chardin's Travels.

Sufiana^t, bounded on the north by Assyria; on the west by Chaldæa; on the east by Persia; on the south by the Persian Gulf; is believed by some to have been the land of Havilah, now called Chusistan, inhabited by the Elamæi, and Cossæi. Its capital was the famous city of Sufa, the Shushan of the Scriptures; and Tariana, by Ammianus called Tarfiana¹. The modern

* Ptol. lib. vi. cap. 5.
lib. iii. cap. 19. p. 684.

¹ Apud Cellar. Geogr. Antiq.

is seated in a plain, about four leagues in extent from north to south, and about five leagues from east to west. Upon the south-east is a lake of salt-water, about four leagues in compass. The soil about it is very good and fruitful, and famous for the best wines in Persia. Schiras itself looks more like a ruined town than a city. Yet here are a great many fair covered bazars, or markets, with great shops, well furnished with all sorts of Indian and Turkish commodities, and every commodity has its particular bazar. In the college there are professors, who have salaries for teaching theology, philosophy, and medicine; and the number of students sometimes amounts to five hundred. There are in this city three or four glass-houses, where they blow great and small bottles, to transport the sweet waters made in this city; they also make several other vessels to hold their pickled fruits, which they send in great quantities into India, Sumatra, Batavia, and other places. They make their glass of a white stone, almost as hard as marble, which they fetch from a hill, four days

journey from Schiras, and it is as clear and delicate as any glass in the world. They have no other manufactures at Schiras, but a few coarse painted cloths, which are used only by the meaner sort. The wines made here are the best in all Persia; but they make no great quantity of them, because they dry and pickle great quantities of their grapes. It is an excellent stomach-wine, but very strong. The soil about this city is very good, producing plenty of all things. They have all the fruits that we have, and oranges and lemons in abundance. They have vast quantities of roses, from which they draw such great plenty of rose-water, that they furnish all the Indies with it. They have a great deal of corn; but give much to their horses to be eaten in the blade, because they say, that for want of water it would never come to maturity. There is a great quantity of opium made at Schiras; for round about the town are large fields sown with white poppies; they have also store of capers, which they send into all parts (3)."

(3) Vide Tavern. in Harris's Collect. vol. ii. p. 344.

towns of note are ^m, Ahawas, Scabar, and Ram-Hormus (U).

*Curdistan,
and Shir-
wan.*

There are two other provinces of the Persian empire, which need not be described here, because they have been treated of elsewhere already. These are Curdistan, containing the ancient Assyria, and Shirwan, of old styled Media. Chardin^a tells us, that there are reckoned in the dominions of Persia, upwards of five hundred considerable places, walled towns, and castles, about sixty thousand villages, and forty millions of souls.

Climate.

As to the air and climate of this country, considering its great extent, it cannot be otherwise than various, according to the situation, some parts being frozen with cold, and others burnt with heat, at the same time of the year. The air, wherever it is cold, is dry; but, where it is extremely hot, sometimes moist. All along the coast of the Persian Gulf, from west to east, to the mouth of the river Indus, the heat, for four months, is so excessive, that those who are born in the country, unable to bear it, are forced to quit their houses,

^m Tavern. Voyag. ubi supra.

^a Voy. tom. iii. p. 9.

(U) Susiana, as described by Ptolemy, includes the province styled Elymais, which Pliny also observes to have lain within the bounds of this province, and to have been severed from it by the river Eulæus. It received its name from Susa, the capital, once the royal seat of the Persian kings, who usually resided one part of the year here, and the other at Ecbatan. It is difficult to determine whether in pleasantness, magnificence, or strength, this noble city most excelled. It was seated on the river Ulai, or Eulæus, called also the Choaspus, or rather on the confluence of these two rivers; for the Eulæus and Choaspes, meeting at Susa, ran together in one stream, and are afterwards styl-

ed, sometimes by one name, sometimes by the other. As to its beauty, Diodorus affirms, that when Alexander seized the palace here, he took possession of the noblest mansion in the universe. Here were preserved the records of the Persian empire; and here were laid up the treasures of the kingdom, that they might be made use of upon any emergency, and not be squandered away at the will of the prince. The modern name of this celebrated city differs not much from that by which it was formerly called, the city of Shustern being by some travellers conceived to be built at least very near the place where Susa of old stood (4).

(4) Vide Tavern. Voyages, tom. i. lib. iv. cap. 1.

and

and retire to the mountains; so that such as travel in those parts at that season, find none in the villages, but wretched poor creatures, left there to watch the effects of the rich, at the expence of their health. The extreme heat of the air, as it renders it insupportable, makes it prodigiously unwholesome. The eastern provinces of Persia, from the river Indus to the borders of Tartary, are subject to great heats; but not quite so unwholesome as on the coasts of the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulph: but in the northern provinces, on the coast of the Caspian Sea, the heat is full as intense, and, though attended with moisture, as unwholesome as on the coast before-mentioned. From October to May, there is no country in the world more pleasant than this; but the people carry in their faces indelible marks of the malign influence of their summers. They are all of a languid pale colour, and have neither strength nor spirits, though, about the end of April, they abandon their houses, and retire to the mountains, which are five and twenty or thirty leagues from the sea. In a word, the unhealthiness of this place is so notorious, that when a person is sent to the government of Keilan, it is generally looked upon as a kind of disgrace; and the people at Spauhawn are apt to ask, whether he has robbed or murdered, to deserve such a commission. But this moist atmosphere is only in these parts; the rest of Persia enjoys a dry air, the sky being perfectly serene. To say the truth, the purity of this element is the greatest blessing the inhabitants enjoy; as they derive from thence a clear and florid complexion, together with an excellent habit of body. It rains seldom; but it does not follow that the heat admits of no mitigation: for in the night, though not a cloud be seen, the sky being so clear, that the stars alone afford a light sufficient to travel by, yet there is a refreshing breeze, which lasts till within an hour of the morning, and gives such a coolness to the air, that a man may dispense with a tolerable warm garment. The seasons in general, and particularly in the middle of this kingdom, are as follow; the winter, beginning in November, and lasting till March, is very sharp and rude, attended with frost and snow; which last descends in great flakes on the mountains, but never on the plains. There are mountains, three days journey to the west of Spauhawn, on which the snow lies for eight months of the year. It is said, that they find there white worms as large as a man's little finger, which, if crushed, feel colder than snow. From the month of March

till May, there are sharp winds; from May to September the air is serene and dry, refreshed by pleasant gales, which blow in the night, at evening, and morning; and, in September and November, the wind blows as in spring. It is to be observed, that in summer, the nights are about ten hours long, the twilight being very short; a circumstance which, joined to the coolness of the night, renders the heat of the day so moderate, that this season is as supportable at Spauhawn as at Paris. The great dryness of its air exempts Persia from thunder and earthquakes. In the spring indeed there sometimes falls hail; and, as the harvest is then pretty far advanced, it does a great deal of mischief. The rainbow is seldom seen in this country, because there rise not there vapours sufficient to form it; but in the night, there are seen rays of light shooting through the firmament, and followed, as it were, by a train of smoke. The winds, however brisk, seldom swell into storms or tempests; but, on the other hand, they are sometimes poisonous and infectious on the shore of the Gulf, as all travellers agree.

There is, perhaps, no country in the world which, generally speaking, is more mountainous than Persia; but these mountains are far from being advantageous, since many of them yield neither springs nor metals, and but a few of them are shaded with trees. It is true that many of them are situated on the frontiers, and serve as a kind of natural bastions or ramparts to this vast region; and, it is very likely, contribute in other places to make the country wholesome, by sheltering the vallies under them from excessive heat. On some of these hills there is found a kind of mineral salt, which is sold very cheap^r.

Rivers.

In respect to rivers, except the Araxis, there is not one navigable stream in all this country (X). There are, indeed, in most of its provinces, some little rivers, which run short courses, and would be more considerable than

^r Tavern. Voy. tom. i. lib. iv. cap. 1. p. 416.

(X) As there is much confusion among ancient authors, when they mention this river, it may not be amiss to observe, that there are two rivers which bear this name, one in Media, the other in Persia; and these two have been confounded.

The first rises from the mountains of Armenia, and disembogues itself into the Caspian Sea; the other runs through Persia, washes the walls of Schiras, and is now distinguished by the name of Bend-Emir (2).

(2) Vide Ambassadors of Holstein's Travels, in Harris's Collect.

they

they are, if, through want of water, the inhabitants were not forced to divert their streams, by small channels, in order to improve their plantations. An eminent traveller informs us, that this expedient was practised anciently much more than of late years; and that from hence, in a great measure, arises the mighty difference between the productions of ancient and modern Persia. He affirms, that a Persian of great quality, who was perfectly acquainted with this matter, informed him, that within the space of twenty-four years, no less than fourscore channels had been choaked up, and lost, in the territory of Tauris*. As to seas, the northern provinces of the Persian empire lie on the Caspian Lake, or Sea; of which an account has been already given in the description of Media. On the south the Persian shore is washed by the Indian ocean, and by the waters of the Persian Gulf, or Gulf of Balfora, flowing out of the Indian ocean near the isle of Ormus, from the south-east to the north-west, having Persia on the east, and Arabia on the west, it runs as high as the ancient Chaldæa, where it receives the Euphrates and the Tigris, united in one stream; and very few rivers of note besides. It may not be amiss to take notice here, that the Gulf is sometimes styled the Red Sea, as well as the Gulf of Aden.

After this account of mountains and rivers, the reader *Soil* will easily comprehend, that the soil cannot be generally rich and fruitful, but on the contrary sandy and barren. However, here and there the vallies are fruitful and pleasant. The earth, in some places, is sandy and stony; in others, heavy and hard; but every where so dry, that if it be not watered, it produces nothing, not even grass. Rain is not wholly wanting; it rains, however, very seldom, and not enough to keep even the best lands in a condition of bearing corn or fruits without further help; and even in the winter, the beams of the sun are so active, that the rain has not much effect: but wherever the soil is sufficiently moistened, either by natural or artificial means, it bears wonderfully well. If it should be asked how this description suits with what we find recorded in ancient authors, of the luxury and profuseness of the ancient Persians, such a question is capable of various answers: for, first, Persia is not now near so much peopled as it was heretofore, and consequently there cannot be so great a number of labourers, a circumstance which must cause

* Tavern. Voy. ubi supra.

barrenness in a country that produces nothing without cultivation. Again, it may be said, that the alteration of government and religion has, in a great measure, produced this difference: the ancient kings of Persia were mild and beneficent to their subjects, whereas the Mahomedan princes have been always proud, overbearing, and cruel. According to the opinion of the Perses or Gaurs, it was meritorious to render barren fields fertile; whereas the modern Persians, like other Mahomedans, are satisfied with what good things they find, and will not give themselves the trouble to labour for posterity. They look upon life as a great road, wherein men ought to content themselves with such things as fall in their way; and, in consequence of such notions, there is no great wonder that sterility has ensued, and that modern travellers do not speak in the same language with Quintus Curtius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and other ancient authors. It must not, however, be imagined but that there is still, at this day, the same variety in point of fruitfulness, among the provinces of this extensive country, as heretofore. Bactria, Media, Iberia, Hyrcania, are now, in a great measure, what they were, and surpass most of the other provinces in their productions. All along the coasts of the Persian Gulf, the soil is still more sterile, cattle less plenty, and every thing in a worse condition than any where else.

Trees.

Among the trees that are most common in Persia, we may reckon the plantane, the willow, the fir, and cornil, by the Arabs called feder, and conar by the Persians; from whence probably came the Latin cornus, and thence our cornil. It is a received opinion here, that the plantane has a singular virtue against the plague and all other infectious diseases; and they positively assert, that there has been no contagion at Spauhawn since the planting vast numbers of these trees in its streets and gardens. The tree which bears gall-nuts, grows in several parts of Persia, but particularly in Kourdistan. Those that produce gums, mastich, and incense, are found very commonly in Persia; that, however, which bears incense, is particularly found in Carmania the Desert, resembling, in form, a large pear-tree: turpentine-trees, and almond-trees, with the wild chefnut, are common. The tree which bears manna is also frequent; but there are several sorts of manna in Persia; the best is of a yellowish colour, and of a large grain. It comes from Nichapour, which is a part of Bactria. There is another sort, called
the

the manna of tamarisk, because it is gathered from that tree. All the different kinds of manna are used to the same end in medicine, and are therefore gathered with like care, being esteemed a valuable commodity. The herbs in Persia, especially such as are aromatic, exceed those of other countries: roots, pulse, and sallading are here larger, fairer, and better-tasted, than elsewhere, and are eaten raw, without danger of their creating any crudities in the stomach. Most of our European roots and esculent plants flourish here in perfection; and they would be more cultivated than they are, if, as in Europe, men were restrained from eating flesh, at certain periods. As to drugs, Persia produces as many as any country in Asia; for, besides manna, cassia, fena, and the nux vomica, which is common in most provinces, gum ammoniac, by the Persians called oufcicoc, is found in abundance on the confines of Parthia, towards the south. Rhubarb grows commonly in Corasson, or the ancient Sogdiana; but it is not so good as that which is brought from the country of the Tartars, between the Caspian Sea and China; and for this reason they endeavour to confound both under the name of Rivend-Tchini, i. e. *rhubarb of China*. In Corassan they eat it commonly as we do beet-root. The poppy of Persia is esteemed the finest in the world, not only in respect of its beauty, but because its juice is much stronger than the juice of the same plant elsewhere. The Persians call this juice afoun; from whence our word opium: the best is made in the territory of Lingan, six miles from Spauhawn; though others prefer the afoun of Cazaron, which is towards the Persian Gulf, as being less apt to engender crudities in the stomach. Tobacco grows all over Persia, especially about Hammadan, which is the ancient Sufa, and in Kourdistan near the Persian Gulf, esteemed the finest. Saffron is cultivated in many provinces, especially about the Caspian Sea, and in the neighbourhood of Hammadan, and is much esteemed. The plant, by the Persians called hiltet, and supposed to be the laserpitium, or silphium of Dioscorides, from whence drops the assafetida, is common every where, but abounds most in Sogdiana. Mummy, of both sorts, is a great Persian commodity; the first is taken from embalmed bodies, or such as are dried in the sands; the other is a precious gum, which distils out of a rock. There are two mines or sources of it in Persia, one in Carmania the Desert, in the country of Sar, which is the best; the other is in Corassan: the rocks from whence it distils belong to the king,

*Herbs and
drugs.*

king, and all that issues from thence is for his use. They are inclosed with walls, the gates of which are secured by the seals of the five principal officers in the province. Once a year each mine is opened in their presence, and all the mummy that is then found, or at least the greatest part of it, is sent to the king's treasury. It derives its name from the Persian *moum*, which signifies literally *an unguent*. Cotton is very common all over Persia; there is also a tree which somewhat resembles it, but is by far more rare; which produces a sort of silk, very fine and soft, and is put to many uses. Galbanum is likewise common in this country, together with the vegetable alkali, and many other drugs².

Fruits.

In speaking of the fruits of Persia, melons certainly claim the first place: of these they have above twenty different species. After the melon, the raisin deserves our notice, of which there are twelve or fourteen sorts in this country. The dates of Persia, are, without comparison, the richest in the world, their syrup being sweeter, and more pleasant than virgin-honey. The best grow in Courdistan, Sistan, about Persepolis, and the shore of the Persian Gulf; and particularly at Jaron, a town in the road between Schiras and Lar. All our European fruits grow in great perfection here; their apricots are excellent, and of several sorts: nectarines and peaches weigh sometimes sixteen or eighteen ounces each; they break easily, and what is very extraordinary, the stone opens at the same time the peach is broken, and discovers a kernel extremely white, and of a taste the most delicious that can be imagined. The Persian pomegranates grow of several colours, in the highest perfection, some of them weighing a full pound. To sum up all, it may not be amiss to mention the particular places where the several kinds of fruit are held most excellent: apples and pears grow to the highest perfection in Iberia; dates in Carmania; pomegranates about Schiras; oranges in Hyrcania; and all sorts in Bactria, which produces finer and fairer fruit than any other country in the world; but it is particularly renowned for its onions, at once prodigiously large, and sweet as apples. Pistachios, almonds, hazels, filberts, and figs, abound here likewise; and Sir John Chardin tells us, that at an entertainment near Spauhawn, he saw fifty different kinds of fruit provided for one desert².

² Tavern. Voyag. tom. i. lib. iv. cap. 2. p. 418. Chardin, tom. iii. p. 12. Carrieri, tom. ii. p. 209. ² Chardin, tom. iii. p. 23. Tavern. Voyag. tom. i. lib. iv. cap. 2. p. 418. Carrieri, tom. ii. p. 209.

The grain most common in Persia is wheat, which is *Grain.* wonderfully fair and clean. As for barley, rice, and millet, they only make bread of them in some places, as in Courdistan, when their wheat-bread is exhausted before the return of the harvest. They do not cultivate in this country either oats or rye, except where the Armenians are settled, who make great use of the latter in Lent.

Persia produces all the sorts of flowers which are to be *Flowers.* found in Europe, but not equally common in all the provinces of this empire; for there are fewer sorts of them, and fewer of each sort, in the southern provinces than in the rest, excessive heat being more destructive to them than frost. Hyrcania, in this respect, excels the rest of Persia as much as Persia surpasses other countries. There are whole forests of oranges, the jessamin single and double, and all the flowers that blow in Europe, with many which we have not, are profusely scattered by nature. The most eastern part of this country, which is called Mazanderan, is a perfect parterre: from September to the end of April, all the hills are covered with flowers as with a carpet, and the fruits are then in their best season, for the excessive heat and the malignity of the air destroy them in the succeeding months. Towards Media, and on the southern frontiers of Arabia, the fields are adorned with tulips, anemonies, ranunculas of the brightest red, all growing spontaneously: in other places, as in the neighbourhood of Spauhawn, jonquils grow wild, and subsist all the winter.

Metals of all sorts are found in Persia, especially of late *Metals or minerals.* years; and since the reign of Abbas the Great, who was at immense pains to discover them, and to make the best use of mines wherever they were discovered. Iron, copper, and lead are become very common; but of gold and silver there are no mines open at present. As Persia is a very mountainous country, and as those mountains produce sulphur and saltpetre, if the inhabitants were active and inquisitive, there is no doubt to be made, but that those precious metals might be found in some part or other of the Persian dominions. There are two sorts of salt in Persia, that found on the earth, and rock-salt: nothing is more common than to meet in this country with plains, sometimes ten leagues in length, covered entirely with salt; and others are covered in like manner with sulphur and alum. In Media, and at Spauhawn, the salt is dug out of mines, and is as hard and firm as fire-

fire-stone; nay, in Carmania the Desert, the people actually use it as such in building their houses. Marble, free-stone, and slate, are found in great plenty about Hamadan: the marble is of four colours, white or statuary, black, red and black, and white and black. The best is found about Tauris; it is almost as transparent as crystal; its colour is white, mingled with a pale green; but it is so soft, that some have questioned whether it be really a stone or not. In the neighbourhood of the same city they find azure; but it is not so good as that of Tartary. In Hyrcania, and especially in Mazanderan, the petroleum, or naphtha, is met with, of two sorts, black and white; but the richest mine in Persia is the turquoise. There are two sorts of this precious stone; one at Nichapour in Chorassan; and the other in Phirous-Cou, or Mount Phirous, between Hyrcania and Parthia, four leagues distant from the Caspian Sea. This mountain derives its name from an ancient king of Persia, who subdued the country, and in whose time the mine was discovered; nay, the very stones carry his name also: for, though we call them turquoises, because they come from the true and proper Turkey; yet, throughout the East, they are called Phiroufe.

*Beasts, tame
and wild.*

The horses of Persia are the most beautiful of the East, though they are not so much esteemed as those of Arabia. They are higher than our saddle-horses, and their limbs as well proportioned as can be imagined. Though there are great numbers of them, yet, considering how much they are used, and the great demand for them by the subjects of the Mogul on one side, and of the Grand Signior on the other, they are held at a high price, a fine horse being sometimes valued at a thousand crowns. Next to horses we may reckon mules, which are much esteemed here, and are very fine; and, after these, we may justly place asses, of which they have in this country two sorts, the first bred in Persia, heavy and doltish, as asses in other countries are; the other originally of an Arabian breed, the most docile and useful creature of its kind in the world. These are used wholly for the saddle, and are very frequently adorned with fine accoutrements, because of their easy manner of going, and their being very sure-footed. Camels are numerous in Persia, and so much in esteem, that they are called *kechty-krouch-konion*, i. e. *the ships of the land*, because the inland trade is carried on by the help of those animals, as the foreign traffic depends upon shipping. As beef is little eat in Persia, their oxen

are

are generally employed in ploughing, and other sorts of labour. Hogs are no where bred in this kingdom, if we except a province or two on the borders of the Caspian Sea : but sheep and deer are very common. As to beasts of chace, they are not in such numbers here as in most of the countries of Europe, because Persia is, generally speaking, devoid of woods ; but in Hyrcania, which abounds with them, deer of all sorts, and gazels, are found in great abundance. The gazel is a creature common throughout the East ; and so many of them have been brought into Europe, that they need not any description. As to wild beasts, there are not a great number of them in this country, for the same reason that has been assigned, with respect to beasts of chace, except in Hyrcania, where, in the woods, there are many lions, bears, tygers, leopards, &c. So that the ancients spoke very truly of Hyrcania, when they called it the Country of Wild Beasts. One thing, however, is to be remarked, that neither here, nor throughout all Persia, are there any wolves ; but the chakal, or jackal, is common every where, and has this peculiar quality, that it tears up dead bodies, if the graves are not carefully watched. As to insects, the dryness of the air prevents our having much to say about them ; there are, however, in some provinces, prodigious numbers of locusts, or grasshoppers, which come in such clouds as to obscure the air. In certain parts of the Persian dominions they have large black scorpions, so venomous, that such as are stung by them die in a few hours : in others they have lizards frightfully ugly, which are an ell long, and as thick as a large toad, their skins being as hard and tough as that of the seal : they are said to attack and kill men sometimes ; but that assertion may be doubted. Among the reptiles of this country, there is a long worm, called by the inhabitants *hazar-pey*, i. e. *thousand feet* ; by the Spaniards, *centopes* : its whole body is stuck with small feet, with which it runs prodigiously fast ; it is longer and smaller than a caterpillar ; and its bite is dangerous and even mortal if it gets into the ear^z.

There are in Persia all the several sorts of poultry which *Birds.* we have in Europe, but not in such quantities, because they are chiefly bred and taken care of by the Armenians, who have frequently capons fatted to such a degree, that they are killed for nothing but their grease. There are,

^z Chardin, tom. iii. p. 32. Tavern. tom. i. lib. v. cap. 3. p. 423. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 215.

however,

however, a vast number of pigeons, wild and tame. The partridges of this country are the largest and finest in the world, being generally of the size of our pullets. As to water-fowl, they have geese, ducks, cranes, herons, and many other sorts: but they are in greater plenty in the northern, than the southern provinces. The singing-birds here are of the same kinds as we have in Europe; the nightingale is heard there all the year, but chiefly in the spring; martlets, which learn whatever words are taught them; and another bird of the same size, called by them noura, which chatters continually, and repeats very pleasantly whatever it hears. As to birds of a large size, the most considerable is the pelican, by the Persians called taçab, i. e. *water-carrier*, and also misc, i. e. *sheep*, because it is as large as one of those animals. There are in Persia various birds of prey; and in the mountains, about fifteen or twenty leagues from Schiras, there are some of the largest and finest hawks in the world: the people take great pains in teaching them to fly at game; and the king has generally eight hundred of these birds, each of which has a person to attend it. The Persian lords are likewise great lovers of falconry, and even the common people practised it much; for neither this, nor shooting, nor hunting with dogs, is forbid to the meanest man in Persia^h.

This country affords not great quantities of fresh-water fish, because there are no great rivers in Persia; however, there are of these three kinds, those of the lakes, of the rivers, and of the kerises, or subterraneous passages. Those in the lakes are carps and shads; the river-fish is chiefly barbel, which is also the sort of fish commonly met with in the subterraneous channels; they are very large, but by no means good, and their roes are particularly dangerous. There are in the river at Spauhawn a great number of crabs, which crawl up the trees, and are found under the leaves, from whence they are taken, and are esteemed a very delicious food. As to sea-fish, no country is better served; the Caspian Sea contains very fine fish on one side, and the Persian Gulf, on the other, is believed to have more fish in it than any other sea in the world. There is taken, on the coasts of this gulf, a sort of fish, for which they have no particular name; its flesh is of a red colour, very delicious; and some of them weigh two or three hundred pounds: its flesh will take salt, like

^h Chardin, tom. iii. p. 38. Tavern. tom. i. lib. iv. cap. 3. p. 225. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 214.

beef; but it cannot be kept long, because the salt in this country is very corrosive ¹.

As we have now examined the productions of the air, earth, and waters of Persia, we are next to speak of the natural rarities which are to be found in this large empire. Of these, the first we are to take notice of, is a certain poisonous shrub, or plant, by the Arabians called chark, by the Persians, gulbad-samour, i. e. *the wind-poisoning flower*; it flowers like the thistle, and has pods filled with a thick white liquor, of the consistence of cream, sharp and sour to the taste: it is affirmed, that wherever the wind blows over a number of these plants, it thence contracts a poisonous quality, which proves mortal to the next that respires it ². There is likewise another shrub in the same country, viz. Carmania the Desert, singularly noxious; it is called kerzehre, i. e. *asses poison*, because those creatures are apt to eat of its fruit, which generally proves mortal. The very water that washes its roots is likewise held to be poisonous. The trunk of this shrub is as large as a man's leg, and it sometimes grows to the height of six feet; its bark is remarkably rough, and of a bright green colour; its leaves are perfectly round, with a rising point in the middle; it bears a sort of flower exactly resembling the rose, of a kind of flesh colour: whence it is apprehended that the Greeks called it rhododendron. The Arabians, as well as the Persians, call it the gall or poison of an ass. Some are of opinion, that it is the nerium of our herbalists, and the same plant that is called in French *rosage* ³. The goats, both wild and tame, which feed on the shore of the Persian Gulf, afford the bezoar so much esteemed in medicine; but the best kind is taken out of those creatures in the province of Corasson, or Bactria, and it is thought to excel by far the bezoar of Golconda, and the rest of the Indies. The abmelec, or eater of locusts, or grasshoppers, is a bird which better deserves to be described, perhaps, than most others, of which travellers have given us an account, because the facts relating to it are not only strange in themselves, but so well and so distinctly attested, that however surprising they may seem, we cannot but afford them our belief. The food of this creature is the locust or grasshopper: it is

¹ Chardin. tom. iii. p. 44. Tavern. tom. ii. lib. iv. cap. 11. p. 424. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 210. ² Chardin. tom. iii. p. 13.
³ Ubi supra.

of the size of an ordinary hen, its feathers black, its wings large, and its flesh of a greyish colour: they fly generally in great flocks; but the thing which renders these birds wonderful is, that they are so fond of the water of a certain fountain in Corasson, or Bactria, that wherever that water is carried, they follow; on which account it is carefully preserved; for, wherever the locusts fall, the Armenian priests, who are provided with this water, bring a quantity of it and place it in jars, or pour it into little channels in the fields: the next day whole troops of these birds arrive, and quickly deliver the people from the locusts. The river Mahmoudker, i. e. *Mahmoud the Deaf*, is a surprising natural rarity. At some distance from Spauhawn there is a range of rocks, plane and equal for a considerable space, except that here they have openings, like the embrasures in bastions, through which the winds pass with surprising velocity; through these rocks falls the river we mentioned, into a noble basin, partly wrought by the water itself, and partly formed by art. As one ascends the mountain, certain natural chinks shew the water at the bottom of it, like a sleeping lake, covered with rocks and mountains: it is thought to be of unfathomable depth; and when stones are thrown into it, they cause a most amazing noise, which almost deafens the hearers; whence this river is supposed to derive its name. After its descent from the basin before mentioned, it rolls along the plain, till at last it falls into the river Zenderoud. Some are of opinion, that this river does not derive its water from springs, but from the snow on the tops of the mountains, which, melting gradually, distils through the chinks of the rocks, into the vast lake before mentioned: and this supposition, they think, is in some measure proved from the acrimonious taste of the waters, which is however lost, after it joins the Zenderoud^b. Under a certain mountain called Tagterustan, from the ruins of a building on its summit, supposed to have been erected by the great Rustan, there runs a grotto, which deserves a place among the natural rarities of Persia. From the top of this grotto there distils through the whole mountain, in two or three places, fresh water, which, falling into proper receptacles, forms two or three distinct streams, that issue from thence to water the plain. Let us now pass to the artificial rarities of the country.

^b Chardin, tom. ii. p. 2.

-To begin then with the ancient Persepolis, the ruins of which still testify the truth of what some ancient writers have affirmed, that in the times of its prosperity, it was one of the most august cities in the world (plate 1. and 2.) When we compare the descriptions of travellers with each other; when we consider what is recorded of other cities, and what is still to be seen of those that were most famed; we shall be induced to confess, that the Persian empire, in all its grandeur, could boast of nothing more glorious, nor have left any thing more astonishing to posterity, than the venerable ruins of this city.

A description of Persepolis.

The plain in which this famous city stood, is one of the finest in Persia, and indeed in all the East. Its length extends to eighteen or nineteen leagues; its breadth is in some places two, in others four, and in some six. It is watered by the great river Araxes, or Bendemir, and by a multitude of rivulets besides. Within the compass of this plain, there are between a thousand and fifteen hundred villages, without reckoning those in the mountains, all adorned with pleasant gardens, and planted with shady trees. The entrance of this plain, on the west side, has received as much grandeur from nature, as the city it covers could do from industry or art. It consists of a range of mountains, steep and high, four leagues in length, and about two miles broad, forming two flat banks, with a rising terrace in the middle, the summit of which is perfectly plain and even, all of native rock. In this there are such openings, and the terraces are so fine, and so even, that one would be tempted to think the whole was the work of art, if the great extent, and prodigious elevation did not convince one, that it is a performance too stupendous for human art and industry to accomplish. One cannot from hence descry the ruins of the city, because the banks are too high to be overlooked; but we can perceive, on every side, the ruins of walls and of edifices, which heretofore adorned the range of mountains, of which we are speaking. On the west, and on the north, this city is defended in the like manner; so that, considering the height and evenness of these banks, one may safely say, that there is not in the world, a place so fortified by nature^c. The ancient palace of the kings of Persia, called by the inhabitants Chil-minar, i. e. *forty columns*, is situated at the foot of the mountain. The walls of this stately building are still standing on three sides;

The plain of Persepolis.

^c Chardin, tom. ii. p. 241. Le Brun, tom. ii. p. 261.

and it has the mountain on the east. The front is in extent six hundred paces from north to south, and three hundred and ninety from east to west, quite to the rock, without any stair-case on that side, till one comes to the mountain, where, by the help of certain ragged stones, it is easy to reach the lowest part of the wall, which is not above eighteen feet seven inches in height, and in some places not so high. This curtain is four hundred and ten paces in length on the north, and one-and-twenty feet high in some places; but in most places thirty, quite to the mountain, where is still a corner of the wall, and in the middle an entrance, by which one may climb to the top, by broken pieces of the rock. Before the west side are several rocks, which rise towards the north, till they are on a level with the wall, appearing like a kind of platform, extending eighty paces, before it. There seems to have been a stair-case formerly on this side, and some buildings without this curtain, the rock being very smooth in many places. On the top of the edifice, there is a platform of four hundred paces, which extends, in the middle of the front wall, quite to the mountain. Along this wall, and all the three sides, runs a pavement of two stones joined together, which fill up a space eight feet broad; some of these stones are eight, nine, and ten feet long, and six in breadth; but the rest are smaller. The principal stair-case is not placed in the middle; but much nearer the north-end than the south, being six hundred paces distant from this, and only an hundred and sixty-five from that. The stair-case is composed of two flights of stairs, forty-two feet asunder at bottom. Its depth is twenty-five feet seven inches to the wall, from whence proceed the steps, which are as long as the stair-case is deep, within two inches. Each of these steps is four inches high, and fourteen in breadth; so that nothing can be more commodious: there are fifty-five on the north side, and fifty-three on the south; but the latter are not so whole as the former. Ascending thus high, we arrive at a landing-place, fifty-one feet four inches broad, proportioned exactly to the breadth of the stair-case: the stones of this landing-place are of an extraordinary size. The two flights of the stair-case are separated by the wall of the front; but in such a manner, that they decline from each other from the bottom up to the middle, and incline towards each other from the middle to the top; which has a wonderful effect on the eye, and suits perfectly

fectly well with that magnificence which reigns throughout every other part of the building.

The upper-part of this stair-case consists of forty-eight steps on one side, and on the other; some of which are damaged, notwithstanding they are cut in the rock. At the top of these there is another landing-place, between the flights of stairs, seventy-five feet broad, paved with great stones, some thirteen or fourteen feet long, and seven or eight broad¹ (Y).

To speak now of what is to be seen, when one is among these ruins: the first thing that salutes the eye in a straight line, forty-two feet distant from the front before described, are two great porticos, and two columns (plate 3.) The pavement of the first is much damaged by time; and the second is sunk five feet lower than the former. These porticos are twenty-two feet four inches in depth, and thirteen feet four inches in breadth. One sees in the front of each pilaster, a large figure cut in bas-relief, twenty-two feet in length from its fore to its hind-feet, and fourteen feet and a half high. The heads of these animals are entirely destroyed; their breast and feet project from the pilaster; and their bodies are very much damaged. Those of the first portico front towards the stair-case, and those of the second, which have wings on their bodies, toward the mountains. One sees, above the

*The ruins
of Perse-
polis.*

¹ Le Brun, ubi supra. Chardin, ubi supra. .

(T) In the description in our text, we have adhered pretty closely to M. Le Brun; and that for many reasons: first, because his profession, which was that of a painter, rendered him more capable of describing minutely, and of designing exactly, all the wonders of Persepolis, than any former traveller, whom either business or curiosity had led that way. Secondly, this gentleman, when he visited these ruins, determined to consider more attentively, and to examine more nicely, those relics of Persian architecture, than any other author had done. Thirdly, he had not only

the observations of preceding travellers, but Chardin's curious plans, to direct, and and, probably, to correct him, in his notions on this head. Fourthly, there is such agreement, in material points at least, between his accounts and those of Chardin, notwithstanding his affecting, on all occasions, to quarrel with that gentleman's sentiments, that we did not think it at all necessary to trouble the reader with any particulars of a dispute of no great importance in itself, and which, though prosecuted with warmth, seems to have been suggested by vanity.

pilasters certain characters; but, they are too small, and too high, to be legible (plate 4.) The first portico is still thirty-nine feet high, and the second twenty-eight. The bases of the pilasters are five feet two inches high. The figures are not carved out of one stone, but out of three, joined together for that purpose. In their present condition, it is not easy to decide, what they were intended for, though many authors have given the world their conjectures.

The two columns, which stand between the two porticos, are more entire than any other part of the ruins. They are of white marble, fluted, and wonderfully beautiful, that is, as to their chapiters, and other ornaments; for, as to their bases, they are covered with earth. They are twenty-six feet from the first portico, and fifty-six from the second, fourteen feet in circumference, and fifty-four high. There were certainly two others between these and the last portico, of which are still some remains, great pieces of marble lying about, half buried in the earth. Fifty-two feet from the last mentioned portico southward, there is a large cistern cut out of a whole stone, twenty feet long, seventeen feet five inches broad, and three feet above the earth. From thence to the wall, there is a space of about a hundred and fifty paces, in which are found nothing but broken pieces of stone, and the remains of a column, which appears to have been unfluted, and therein differs from all the rest. It is about two feet in compass, and twelve and a half long, (plate 5.) From it to the mountain, there is nothing to be met with, but heaps of broken stones,

Turning from these porticos to the south, one sees, at the distance of one hundred and twenty-two feet, another stair-case, consisting of two flights of steps, in the same manner as the former, one fronting towards the east, the other towards the west. The wall is still about six feet seven inches high; but in the middle it is almost entirely ruined. The extent of the east flight of stairs is eighty-three feet; and it is evident enough, from the lowermost of them, that they were adorned with figures in bas-relief. On the top of the stair-case is still some foilage visible, with figures, in bas-relief, of a lion tearing a bull, larger than the life, (plate 6.) The stair-case is half buried in earth; and one sees certain small figures on the wall on both sides. The west flight consists of twenty-eight steps; the other, having suffered more by the accumulation of the earth, has now but eighteen, each seventeen feet

feet long, three inches high, and fourteen inches and a half broad. Many of these, towards the top, are broken, and two or three entirely destroyed, though cut out of the rock. At the end of the landing-place from this stair-case there is another front, whereon are three rows of small figures, one above another. Of the first row there is nothing now to be seen but the parts below the girdle, the rest being destroyed by time. The second row, which is the best preserved, has, notwithstanding, received great injuries: and as to the third, there is nothing now above ground but their heads. These figures are two feet nine inches high; and the wall, of which there are still five feet three inches above ground, is ninety-eight feet in extent, from the first step to its left corner, where there is another stair-case, the steps of which are exactly of the same size with those before described. From what remains of the inner wall, it appears, that it was also covered with small figures. At the end of the stair-case there is another wall, which extends ninety feet beyond the landing-place. The corner turns a little to the south, and goes no farther, because the earth is there at the same height. Returning to the west flight of steps of the stair-case before mentioned, we meet with a wall forty-five feet in length beyond the bottom of the stair-case, with an interval of sixty-seven feet to the west front. This side, like the former, is adorned with three rows of figures, and a lion tearing a bull, or an ass, with a horn in its forehead. Between these animals and the figures there is a square space, filled with characters, of which the highest are quite effaced. The figures on this side are fairer than on the other, the ground being less elevated: there are twenty-five steps here. As for the figures on the stair-case, we refer the reader to the plates 7. and 8. The wall beyond the stair-case is unadorned with figures. At the step of the stair-case, between the two flights of stairs, there is an open place, paved with very large stones, between the stair-case and the first columns, which are twenty-two feet and two inches distant. They stand in two rows, each consisting of six columns, of which there is only one remaining entire; eight bases and some broken pieces of the rest. There are six rows of columns, seventy feet eight inches distant from these, each row consisting of six columns. These thirty-six columns are twenty-two feet two inches from each other, as the former are. There are still seven of these entire, with the bases of all the rest, but much broken and defaced. Of those

which are left, there is one of the first row, one of the second, two of the third, and one of each of the rest. One finds between these columns, and those before mentioned, several large stones, heretofore part of some subterraneous building. Seventy feet eight inches west from these columns, towards the front of the stair-case, there were twelve columns more, disposed in two rows, of which there are only five remaining. The bases of seven more are visible, and the ground is covered with the ruins of those which are decayed. One can discover, however, among the fragments of those ornaments; which lie half interred, that each of these columns was surmounted by the figure of a camel kneeling, (plate 1. p. 51.) To the south of these columns stands the edifice most elevated of any in these ruins; but it is necessary for us to observe, that, on the east, there are still discernible two rows of columns, consisting of six each, of which the bases of four or five remain still above the earth; and, in all appearance, these were opposed to other rows of columns, which were in the front. Advancing still towards the mountain, one finds the ruins of many buildings, consisting of windows, some of them filled with characters (plate 9), passages, portals, &c. (plates 10. 11. 12. 13). The porticos are adorned with figures; and these ruins take up a great space. But to return to the edifice: it extends a hundred and eighteen feet from the columns; and the wall of its front is yet five feet seven inches high, composed of one row of stones, some of which are eight feet broad, extending from east to west a hundred and thirteen feet. There are before the edifice certain stone foundations still visible; but what end they answered cannot be guessed, since there is no stair-case on this side. This wall is adorned with no sort of ornament, as the rest are. There are, however, two stair-cases, one on the north, the other on the south side, but almost entirely ruined. On the landing-place we still discover the remains of porticos, which an earthquake threw down. All the rest of the building, which consists of great and little porticos, is entirely ruined; the ground, covered with the fragments, is about a hundred and forty-seven feet in length, and nearly square. On the north there are two porticos, and three niches or windows walled up; and on the south, a portico and four windows open. There are two other porticos, which are not covered, on the west, with two openings; and a third to the east, with three niches of windows walled up. Six of these openings are without

without cornices ; and there remains but half a one to the east. One sees, under the two porticos, on the north, on each side, the figure of a man and two women, from the knees upwards, their legs being covered with earth ; under one of these, on the west, there is the figure of a man fighting a bull, which has a horn in its forehead ; the man holds this with his left hand, and strikes a poinard into the belly of the beast with his right : on the other side the figures are the same, excepting only, that the man holds the horn with his right hand, and stabs the beast with his left. In the second portico there is the figure of a man holding and stabbing a beast, resembling either a deer or a lion, by such a horn in its forehead, and with wings upon its back, (plate 14). Under the portico to the north, the same figures are visible ; only the man combats here a true lion, which he holds by the mane with his right hand, and stabs with his left, (plate 15). These figures have half their legs buried under the earth. On both sides of the portico, towards the south, there is the figure of a man, with an ornament in his hand resembling a crown, attended by two persons, one of whom holds an umbrella over his head, and the other has some ensign of authority in his hand (plate 16). Above these figures are three niches full of characters. On the pilasters of the first portico, which are out of their places, and lie near the flight of steps last mentioned, there are two men, each armed with a lance, which the one holds with both hands, the other only in his right (plate 17). One alone of these is entire. There are other pieces of pilasters scattered up and down with various figures (plates 18. 19. 20.), some of them very remarkable for the number of figures they contain, exhibiting, as some suppose, a royal audience, where the king appears sitting on his throne, with a foot-stool, a person with a kind of umbrella over his head, a petitioner before him, and his guards with shields, lances, &c. attending him (plates 21. 22. 23). Behind this edifice appears another of much the same kind, except that it is thirty-eight feet longer, with a nich or window blocked up, and another open, with two stones standing up, one on the right hand, the other on the left. Of these, that towards the east is broken ; the other, towards the west, is still twenty-eight feet high. There are, on the top of this stone, three niches or tablets, full of characters, and a fourth below, which seems to have been cut after the rest. The like inscriptions are seen in the niches or windows before mentioned,

mentioned, each tablet consisting of one stone only. To the south there are two flights of stairs, the one to the east, the other to the west; but of these only five steps are remaining; and on the wings, as well as on the wall which separates them, there are still visible some small figures and foliages, though half buried in the ground. A hundred feet from thence, to the south, the last ruins are found of these edifices, consisting chiefly of porticos and enclosed spaces of ground; and between these two heaps of ruins is another stair-case, of which only seven steps are remaining, which serve, however, to shew, that anciently they were adorned with figures and foliage. On the east side of this stair-case there are certain subterraneous passages, in which the inhabitants imagine great treasures are hid. M. Le Brun entered them, as several travellers had done before, but was quickly obliged to return without making any discoveries, the passages being so narrow, and so dark and moist, that it was impossible to proceed. However, even these experiments are sufficient to shew, that the conjectures of the inhabitants are very indifferently founded, since, from the structure of these vaults, we are left to judge, they were rather intended for carrying off water, or some such purpose, than to be made repositories of the royal treasures^m.

The processions delineated on the walls, the vases in the hands of many of the figures, the several tablets of unknown characters, and the many hieroglyphical representations which are still seen in these ruins, have led some great men into an opinion, that this ancient structure was a temple, dedicated to the deities worshipped in Persia. Others, with much greater reason, have delivered it as their sentiment, that these ruins are the sad remains of the ancient palace of Persepolis, which they think strongly confirmed by the descriptions, left us by ancient authors, of that noble pile of building. Those who adhere to this notion say, that the figures in procession represent a birth-day feast of one of the Persian emperors, when his courtiers were wont to bring him presents. As to the inscriptions, they are, generally speaking, illegible even by the Perses or ancient Persians themselves; so that hardly any argument can be deduced from them. The hieroglyphics might as well serve for ornaments to a palace as to a temple; and, it may be, were some of the spoils of Egypt, brought thence by Cambyse's army.

^m Le Brun, vol. ii. p. 268.

However this be, certain it is, that the habits of those figures agree perfectly well with the descriptions of the old Median and Persian robes, as they are recorded in Greek writers. On the whole, therefore, it may be presumed, that this edifice was actually erected by the kings of the first race, since nothing seen there carries the aspect of later times; but whether Cyrus was the founder, or whether this palace was begun by Darius, and finished by Xerxes, is a point not easily, if at all, to be determined. From a view of the figures visible on the walls, pillars, &c. it seems probable to us, that they were enigmatical representations, for the most part, of the course of the heavenly bodies, and of the effects produced by them. The traditions of the natives, in respect to these antiquities, are generally represented by travellers as confused, extravagant, and not to be depended on. This character may, however, in some measure, arise from their want of acquaintance with oriental history, which is not always so fabulous and incoherent as it is represented to be. There is, and there ever will be, a wide difference between the narrative style of those eastern nations, and that in use among us Europeans (Y).

At two leagues distance from these ruins, there is a famous mountain, seated between two of the finest plains

(Y) Diodorus Siculus relates at length in what manner Persepolis was plundered by the soldiers of Alexander; and how that prince, at the instigation of the courtesan Thais, set fire to the palace. Plutarch likewise mentions the sack of Persepolis; and Arrian says expressly that it was burned by order of Alexander, notwithstanding the entreaties of Parmenio, who interceded in its behalf. Strabo says, Alexander destroyed the temple of Persepolis, in revenge for the cruelty of the Persians, who had formerly plundered and destroyed the temples of Greece.

Curtius affirms, the city was utterly destroyed; but, according to Arrian, and the book of Maccabees, it continued to flourish after this destruction of the palace, and even repulsed king Antiochus, who attempted to reduce it. This last author calls it Elymais, probably derived from Elam, the ancient name of Persia, consequently synonymous with Persepolis, which was the Greek appellation. It was likewise called Pharsabad, or Pharas-Abad, which implies the same meaning, for in process of time the country changed its name from Elam to Pharas (1).

(1) Vide Diod. Sicul. Histor. lib. xvii. cap. 7. Plutarch in Vit. Alex. Arrian. Expedit. Alex. lib. iii. cap. 18. Strab. Geog. lib. xv. p. 730. Curt. lib. v. cap. 7. 1 Maccab. vi.

in the world, and which, by the inhabitants, is called by several names; sometimes they stile it Kabreston-Gauron, i. e. the *Sepulchres of the Gauri*; sometimes Nachs-Rustan, the *Pictures of Rustan*; and sometimes Takt-Rustan, i. e. the *Throne of Rustan*. This Rustan, is the Hercules of the East, or rather the Amadis; for the stories told of him are alike fabulous and romantic. Our business, however, is not with them, but with the mountain, which is an entire rock, harder, and capable of a better polish than marble. It is levelled by art; its sides are perfectly perpendicular, so that it looks like a large wall; and upon it there are figures represented in bas relief, with great skill and beauty. The first of these, which is about the height of a pike from the ground, represents a combat between two knights, mounted on horseback, each of them having an iron mace in his left hand; he on the right has a bonnet on his head, and holds out in his right hand a large ring of iron, of which the other knight seems to take hold with his right hand. All these figures, as well of horses as of men, are gigantic; and as to the meaning of the piece, if we trust tradition, and the Persian poets, it is thus to be understood: they say, that one of these cavaliers was Rustan, or Rustem, the son of Sal the White, the son of Sam, the son of Noramon king of the Indies; the second Rustan, or Rustem the son of Tahmour king of Persia. These two princes are said to have been engaged in long and bloody wars, and at last to have agreed to determine their quarrels by a combat: the manner in which this was to be performed was thus; one extended a ring of iron in his right hand, which the other laid hold of, it being previously agreed, that whoever could wrench from the other this iron ring, should be esteemed the conqueror, and should be obeyed for the future by him who lost it. They say too, that the king of Persia, who is the person represented by the figure having a long beard, vanquished the king of the Indies in this engagement. Besides the ring and mace, these combatants have iron bullets, hanging by chains, at the sides of their horses, which, it is to be supposed, they let fly at each other, in the same manner as peasants sometimes fight with their flails (plate 24). Near this figure there are two others (plate 25. 26.); but as to their representation, it is impossible to say any thing with certainty, since we are furnished with no accounts by ancient writers, and the traditions of the modern Persians, on such subjects are little to be depended on; though, to say the truth,

truth, the common people of Persia are more modest than those of other countries; when they are asked the meaning of these figures, they generally say, "God knows:" nay, their men of learning content themselves with affirming, that they relate to the ancient heroes of their country, without pretending to enter into particulars. At a small distance from these figures is the first tomb. At sixty paces from this tomb there is another; thirty paces from thence a third; and at the distance of a hundred paces, a fourth: which is the last (plate 27. 28, 29). Not far from these tombs are two small edifices (plate 30). Near the third tomb are two inscriptions; one fifteen lines in length, in the character made use of in the inscriptions at the palace of Persepolis. There are several other curious representations carved on this mountain, some perfectly whole and found, others much defaced, either through the injuries of time and weather, or the brutal zeal of the Mahomedans, who make a merit of destroying all kind of imageryⁿ (Z).

*Tombs at
Naxi Rusa-
tan.*

The

* Vide Chardin, tom. ii. Le Brun, tom. ii.

(Z) Besides the tombs spoken of above, there are two near the ruins of the palace of Persepolis, which, Sir John Chardin says, appeared to him the most curious remnants of antiquity which he beheld there. They are about six hundred paces from the columns; and, in order to reach them, there is a necessity of climbing three hundred paces up the rock. These monuments are cut and hollowed into the rock. The one is on the north, over-against the great stair-case of the palace; the front is seventy-two feet broad, and its height about one hundred and thirty (plate 31). The platform is square, and like the landing-place of a stair-case; it is about four feet deep, and is cut into the mountain: on each side there are six figures finely cut, and exactly resembling those

in the procession; in the wall of the palace there are four columns fronting the spectator, and exactly in the middle there appears a door; but it is only the figure of a door cut in the rock, and does not seem ever to have been designed for a passage into any cavity behind it. Over this there is another fine piece of workmanship, full of figures; and on the summit there appears an altar, with fire burning on it, and a reverend person, holding a bow in his hand, kneeling on a kind of ascent over-against it, as if at his devotions. In the corner of the piece there is a round figure which seems to represent the sun, and, in the middle, as if in the air, there is a small figure of the same person, whom we see praying below, as if he were ascending into the heavens. The other tomb,

The great perfection which appears in these ancient works, and those of Persepolis, leaves us no room to doubt, that those who were the authors of them, might, if they so pleased, have left marks of their skill and genius in other parts of this empire also, or at least that their successors might have done something in the same way. We have already laid ourselves under such restrictions as forbid a prolix prosecution of this hint; and therefore we shall content ourselves with remarking, that M. le Brun takes notice, in his Travels, of some remains of antiquity, which he, with two English gentlemen, saw near a mountain, a league and a half from Schiras, on the left of the plain. A direct proof, that, on a strict enquiry, many more fragments of antiquity might be found in Persia than those hitherto described and so highly magnified.

S E C T. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the Ancient Persians.

*The origin
of the Per-
sians.*

THE Persians were, without all doubt, a very ancient nation. Their country was first peopled by Elam, or, as Josephus calls him, Elymus^a, the son of Shem; whence Persia is constantly called in Scripture Elam: nor does it appear that it was known to the Jews, before the captivity, by any other name. The descendants of Elam settled first in that province, which from them was called Elymais, and by degrees, as their numbers increased, spread themselves into Susiana, and other adjoining pro-

• Vide Joseph. Ant. cap. 8.

tomb, which is on the east side, differs not much from this which we have described (plate 32). It has four columns, a false door, and over it an altar with fire, and a prince, or high-priest, praying before it, with the decorations that have been mentioned before. It is the firm opinion of the present inhabitants of Persia, that in these tombs, and also in those described in the text, there are concealed great quan-

ties of treasure and valuable effects. It must be said in favour of this vulgar notion, that it has antiquity on its side; since we know that when Alexander conquered this country, it was expected that mighty sums would be found in the tomb of Cyrus. As, on the other hand, we know that Josephus reports a mighty mass of money to have been laid up in the sepulchre of David.

vinces,

vinces, as appears from Daniel, who places Susa, the metropolis of Susiana, in the province of Elam^p. All the Greek interpreters, by Elam understand Persia; and in the A&ts the Persians are called Elamites^q. Whence, it is probable, they were descended from Elam, from whom both the country and inhabitants borrowed their name.

The government of Persia was monarchical, and the crown hereditary. The kingdom of Elam seems to have been very powerful, even in the time of Abraham; for Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, who was contemporary with that patriarch, is said, in Scripture, to have invaded the Zamzummins and Emims, who were of a gigantic race, and to have taken and pillaged the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, though he was at last overthrown by Abraham, who came to the rescue of Lot, whom the Elamite had taken prisoner. In the time of Jeremiah, Elam must have been a very great and potent kingdom, as is plain from the prophecy, where he foretels the increase of Nebuchadnezzar's dominions; and particularly that he should subdue Elam, a kingdom on the river Ulai, to the eastward of the Tigris.

Their government.

But to speak here of Persia as the second of the four great empires (for, of the kings who preceded Cyrus, we shall have occasion to give some account hereafter); the Persian monarchs were under no control; but governed by their own arbitrary will and pleasure: they were revered by their subjects like deities on earth, none daring to appear before their throne, without prostrating themselves on the ground, with a kind of adoration. In the time of Apollonius, none were allowed to appear before the king, who had not done the same honours to his image. While they were in the king's presence, they were to hold their hands, so long as their audience lasted, within their sleeves; for neglecting this ceremony, Antiochus and Mitreus were put to death, as we read in Xenophon, by Cyrus the Younger. None were suffered to enter the royal palace without the sovereign's leave, except the princes who slew Smerdis: all others, of what rank soever, before they set foot in the palace, were obliged to acquaint the king by a messenger, that they desired to attend him, and wait his royal pleasure. What respect and obedience his vassals paid him, we learn from Herodotus, who tells us, that Xerxes being once in great danger by sea, many, at the king's desire, strove who

The majesty of their kings.

^p Dan. viii. 2.

^q A&ts ii. 9.

should

should be the first in leaping over-board, to lighten the vessel, and save their prince's life at the expence of their own^p. They all lived in no less dread of the king's wrath, than of the anger of the gods; whence they looked upon the incurring of his displeasure, as the greatest misfortune that could befall them; and were ready, at the least intimation given them by their prince, to become their own executioners. The crown was hereditary, and bestowed on the eldest of the deceased king's lawful children. In long or dangerous expeditions, to avoid all contests, the heir apparent was named by the reigning king, before he set out on his journey or march. The new king was crowned at Pasargada, or, as Pliny calls it Pasagarda^q, by the priests, who bore a great sway in the court of Persia. This ceremony was performed in the temple of the goddess of war, where the king used, first of all, to clothe himself with the garment which Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, had worn before he was raised to the throne. Being thus attired, he used to eat some figs, with a small quantity of turpentine, and drink a cupful of four milk; then the tiara^r, or crown, was placed on his head by one of the grandees, in whose family that right was hereditary, and deemed all over Persia the greatest honour a subject could enjoy. The king's tiara, was, by a peculiar name, called cidaris, being a kind of turban rising up with a sharp point, without bending; whereas the other Persians wore their turbans bending downwards to their foreheads, in token of subjection; however the descendants of those, who, with Darius, the son of Hystaspes, slew the usurping magi, were allowed to use a tiara bending to the middle of their head, and not, as that of the other subjects, reaching down to their eye-brows. Round the tiara the king wore a purple and white band, or diadem; for nothing else is meant by the word *diadem*, in the ancient writers, but a band of this nature wreathed round the forehead^s. This tiara, with the purple and white band, is the only ensign of royalty we find among the Persian kings of the first dynasty. The king's birth-day was kept as sacred, and celebrated with public sports in the utmost pomp and magnificence. His death was bewailed by shutting the tribunals of justice for five days; and that fire, which was worshipped in fa-

^p Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 118.^q Plin. lib. vi. cap. 26.^r Plutarch. in Artaxerx.^s Drus. Observat. lib. xii. cap. 12. Brif. lib. i. p. 44.

milias as a household god, was on that occasion alone, extinguished †. The king's abode was, according to the seasons, seven months at Babylon, three at Susa (C), and two at Ecbatan ‡: whence they are compared by Ælian * to cranes; and by Aristotle to the Scythian Nomades, who, by often shifting their abode, always enjoyed a temperate season. They likewise removed to Pasargada, and sometimes to Persepolis; which, at last, became their ordinary residence. The king's court, or palace, had many gates, and each gate a body of guards, whose duty it was not only to defend the king's person, but to inform him of whatever they saw or heard done in any part of the kingdom; whence they were called, "the king's ears," and "the king's eyes." To these messengers were

† Diodorus Siculus, lib. viii.

‡ Zonar. Annal. lib. i.

* Ælian. Hist. Natur. lib. ii. cap. 3.

(C) Susa, called in Scripture Shushan, was the metropolis of the province of Susiana. It was built on the banks of the river Euleus, (called by Daniel, Ulai) by Memnon, as some say, the son of Tithonus, who was slain by the Thessalians in the Trojan war. Strabo and Pausanias compare the walls of Susa even with those of Babylon. Cassiodorus tells us, upon what authority we know not, and therefore give him no credit, that the walls of this city were cemented with gold. Polycletus, as we read in Strabo, would make us believe, that it had no walls; which is no less improbable, considering the kings of Persia resided there three months of the year, and that great part of the treasures were lodged in it, as Diodorus informs us. It was called Susa, from the many lilies which grew in that neighbourhood, says Stepha-

nus, and in the Persian language bore that name. It is also called Memnonia by Herodotus, and others, from its founder Memnon. The city was sheltered by a high ridge of mountains from the northern winds, which rendered it very agreeable during the winter; but in summer, the heat was so parching, that the inhabitants were forced to cover their houses, as Strabo writes, with earth two cubits deep. Susa was, in ancient times, a wealthy and magnificent city. Alexander found in it fifty thousand talents of gold, besides jewels of an inestimable value, and an immense quantity of gold and silver vessels. Here Ahafuerus kept his great feast, which lasted one hundred and eighty-three days. It lies now in ruins, and is known, as Tavernier informs us, by the name of Schouster, or Suster (1).

(1) Vide Strabo, lib. xv. p. 500. Pausan. Messen. cap. 31. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. cap. 66.

Herodot. lib. v. cap. 54.

sent from the most remote provinces of the empire, which any thing happened worthy of the king's knowledge; and besides, they received immediate intelligence of any sudden commotion by means of fires, which were always ready at small distances from each other, and lighted, when occasion required; so that they could, in one day, receive notice of any tumult, rebellion, or invasion, in what part soever it happened of that vast empire.

*The king's
palace de-
scribed.*

The king's palace was deemed sacred, and respected as a temple. It was extremely magnificent, and furnished with utensils of inestimable value. The walls and roofs of the rooms were all covered with ivory, silver, amber, or gold. The throne was of pure gold, supported by four pillars, richly set with precious stones. The king's bed was likewise of gold; and Herodotus¹ mentions a plane-tree and vine of gold, presented to Darius by Pythius, a Lydian, who, after the king of Persia, was accounted the richest man in the world.^(D) The body and branches of this vine, says Athenæus², were enriched with jewels of great value; and the clusters of grapes were all precious stones, which hung over the king's head as he sat upon the throne. At his bed's head stood always a chest or coffer, containing five thousand talents, which was called the king's bolster, and another at his feet, with three thousand talents³. Adjoining to the king's palace were large gardens and parks, stocked with all sorts of game for his diversion. Tully tells us, from Xenophon, that Cyrus planted and cultivated one of these delicious gardens with his own hand. Alexander enriched them with trees and plants out of Greece. The Persian kings drank no other water but that of the river Choaspes, which was carried about with them in silver vessels,

¹ Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 27.
² Athen. lib. xii. Vide Budæum de Ass. lib. iv.

³ Athen. lib. xii. Vide Budæum de Ass. lib. iv. ⁴ Budæus, ubi supra.

(D) Pythius, if we believe Herodotus, entertained, at Cœlene in Phrygia, Xerxes and all his army, as he was marching against Greece; and moreover offered him, towards the charges of the war, two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety-three thousand pieces of gold,

all bearing the stamp of his father Darius. Xerxes, with no less generosity, not only refused the treasures offered him, but ordered seven thousand Darian pieces, or Darics, to be given to Pythius, as a reward of his affection and good-will; nor did he leave Cœlene till the sum was paid.

whither

whither soever they went^b (E). They drank only Calybonian wine, made at Damascus in Syria; and touched no bread but what was of the wheat of Affos in Phrygia; and their salt was brought from Egypt. The magnificence of their public feasts exceeded what we read of in the histories of other nations. Their table was daily served with somewhat of the product of each nation subject to them^c. Among the prisoners taken by Parmenio at Damascus, were, as Athenæus informs us^d, two hundred and seventy-seven cooks; twenty-nine, who took care of the dishes; seventeen, who ministered water; seventy, who had in charge the wine; forty employed about ointments; and sixty-six, whose province it was to prepare garlands, used, according to the custom of those times, in banquets. During the repast, their ears were feasted with the harmony both of vocal and instrumental music; and three hundred women, of the sweetest and most melodious voices, were in constant attendance, to divert the king in his hours of relaxation. It was likewise their province to lull him asleep with the melody and variety of their notes, and recreate his mind as soon as he awaked in the morning^e. Most of the Persian kings were so dissolved in pleasures, that they scarce minded any thing but gratifying their sensual appetites. Xerxes was not ashamed to propose, by a public edict, an ample reward to any one, who should devise a new pleasure^f. The king seldom admitted others to his table, besides his wife and mother. Such as received this honour were so placed, as not to see, but only to be seen by the king; for they thought it was, in some measure, a degradation of their majesty to appear subject to the same necessities with other mortals. This desire of appearing above the level of other men, was the motive that confined them within their palaces, and scarce ever suffered them to appear abroad. Tully says^g, the revenues of whole provinces were employed on the attire of some of their favourite concubines, one city being

^b Herodot. lib. i. cap. 188.
Athen lib. xii.
Maxim. lib. ix. cap. 2.

^c Athen. lib. viii.
^d Vide
^e Cic. Tusc. Quæst. Valer.
^f Cic. in Ver. act. v.

(E) Herodotus tells, us that the Choaspes washed the walls of Susa, and that the Persian kings drank no other water; whence it is manifest, that the Choaspes and Eulæus are one and the same river, at least at

Susa; Pliny and other writers place the city of Susa on the banks of the Eulæus; and all the interpreters take the river Ulai, mentioned by Daniel, to be the Eulæus.

obliged to supply them with ornaments for the hair, another for their necks, &c. Nay, Socrates^b mentions an ambassador, who, being sent into Persia, spent a whole day in travelling through a country, which was called the Queen's Girdle; and another day, before he reached the borders of a territory styled the Queen's Head Drefs.

The king's children.

The king's children, more especially the eldest, were, presently after their birth, committed to the care of eunuchs. At seven years old, they learned, under experienced instructors, to ride and hunt, which were looked upon as the most manly exercises. At the age of fourteen, they were put under the discipline of four learned preceptors, of whom one was to teach them prudence; another, justice; the third, temperance; and the fourth, fortitudeⁱ.

The king's guard.

The king's ordinary guard consisted mostly of Persians. Curtius mentions a guard which attended the monarch's person, consisting of fifteen thousand men, who were called the King's Relations. There was also a body of ten thousand choice horsemen, all Persians, who accompanied him in his expeditions, and were called Immortal. His guards received no pay; but, were very plentifully provided with the necessaries of life.

The manners of the Persians. How they educated their children.

The ancient Persians had a particular care of the education of their children above any other nation. A son was not admitted to the presence of his father; but was brought up by women till he attained the age of five years, lest, if he should die before that time, his father might be too much grieved at his death. At five years old, the children of such as could afford it, were committed to the tuition of learned masters, or magi, who carefully taught them, more by examples than precepts, the practice of justice, patience, sobriety, abstinence, and all other virtues. They took great pains to implant in their breasts an aversion to all manner of vice, especially to lying, and contracting debts. They learned also to ride, to shoot with bows, and fight on horseback. This was their education till seventeen years of age, when the children of men of rank were admitted among the king's guards, and attended him when he went a-hunting, and abroad in his warlike expeditions. They were brought up with such awful respect to their parents, that they never offered to sit down in their presence. Every father

^b Socrat. in Plat. Alcibiad. Briffon. Polit.

ⁱ Xenoph. lib. i. cap. 11:

had power of life and death over his own children ; but was restrained by the laws from exercising such severity for small faults, or for one crime only.

The Persians were anciently all trained up to military exercises, but more especially to handle the bow, which they did with great dexterity ; whence it is, that we find the bow of Elam mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah, and the quiver of Elam by Isaiah, as the arms peculiar to this nation. A numerous issue was looked upon by them as the greatest blessing which the gods could bestow ; and such as could shew a numerous offspring received early presents from the king. They celebrated their birth-days with great pomp and magnificence, furnishing their tables, on such occasions, in a very plentiful manner, though, at other times, they lived very sparingly, at least under their first kings. In their diet they were very temperate ; but were always inclined to drinking : they used even to debate the most important matters over their cups ; but the master of the house, where they met to consult, proposed the same subject the next day, before they tasted any liquor, when the resolutions taken the day before were approved or rejected. When they met, they saluted with a kiss on the mouth, if they were equal ; on the cheek, if one was somewhat inferior to the other ; but those who were of a much lower rank, used to prostrate themselves on the ground, when they met or accosted their superiors. They shewed most value for those that lived next to them, and very little to such as lived at a great distance. No nation was ever more ready to adopt foreign customs. They no sooner conquered the Medes, than they assumed their dress. In war, they used the Egyptian armour, after they had subdued that kingdom ; and imitated the Greeks, as soon as they became acquainted with them, in the worst of vices. They were indulged with a plurality of wives, besides as many concubines as they were able to maintain ; those who had many children, being looked upon as heroes of as great prowess as those who had distinguished themselves in military exploits. They bore such respect to their parents, that they thought it impossible a man should ever put to death his father or mother ; whence no punishments were inflicted, by their laws, on such offenders : and if any one was accused of committing so heinous a crime, he was always declared by the judges spurious or supposititious. If any person happened to be infected with a leprosy, or any other distemper of that nature, he

The miscellaneous customs of the Persians.

was not permitted to stay within the city, nor to converse with others, he having, as they imagined, drawn this punishment upon himself, by committing some offence against the sun. All strangers, subject to this distemper, were expelled the country. These customs, and some others relating to their funerals, of which we shall speak in the next section, we have learned from Herodotus^k, who tells us, that he can with certainty affirm them to be true.

Their punishments.

The most severe punishment in use among the Persians, was that of shutting the offender up between two boats; which was done in the following manner: they made two boats on purpose, so equal, that one was neither broader nor longer than the other; then they laid him in one of them upon his back, and covered him with the other, his hands, feet, and head, being left uncovered, and appearing through an opening made for that purpose. In this posture he was supplied with victuals and drink by the executioners, who even forced him, by thrusting sharp iron instruments into his eyes, to eat what was necessary to support life, lest he should starve himself, and thereby put an end to his pain. On his face, that was placed full in the sun, they poured honey, and thus invited the flies and wasps, which tormented him no less than the swarms of worms that were bred in his excrements, and devoured his body to the very entrails. Under such a complication of torments the unhappy offender sometimes lived many days. Plutarch tells us, that Mithridates, whom Artaxerxes condemned to this punishment, for pretending to have killed his brother Cyrus^l, lived seventeen days in the utmost agony; and that, the uppermost boat being taken off at his death, they found his flesh all consumed, and swarms of worms gnawing his bowels. Those convicted of high-treason were condemned to have the right hand and then the head struck off; which sentence was, by order of Artaxerxes, executed even on the dead body of his brother Cyrus. But by the ancient laws of Persia, the king was restrained from putting any man to death for a single crime; and besides, the judge was to examine narrowly into the actions of the delinquent; and if his faults were found to overballance his former services, the king was allowed to punish him at pleasure; if not, he was either pardoned or punished less severely^m.

^k Herodot. lib. i. cap. 133, 140.
^{Artaxerxis,}

^l Plutarch. in Vita

^m Herodot. lib. i. cap. 137.

Poisoners were pressed to death between two stones ; which punishment we find inflicted upon Gigis, a woman greatly favoured by Parysatis, mother to Artaxerxes, for having conspired with her to poison queen Statiraⁿ.

The Persians were, beyond any other people, jealous of their wives and concubines. It was death to touch any of the king's women, to speak to them, or even to come near them, or their carriages, as they travelled. They were allowed to marry their own sisters or daughters; thus we are told, that Artaxerxes married two of his daughters, Amestris and Atossa, though he had promised them to others. Minutius Felix^o reproaches them with marrying, or criminally conversing with, their mothers; and Eusebius quotes a saying of Bardefanes, which intimates, that they were indulged by law to marry their sisters, daughters, and mothers. This incestuous custom they observed also in other countries, namely in Egypt, Phrygia, and Galatia, as Eusebius witnesses, where they were on that account abhorred by the inhabitants, and nicknamed Maguffæ, or addicted to magic^p. They were the first that introduced those animals called eunuchs, which Petronius Arbiter^q, and Seneca^r, impute to their insatiable sensuality.

Their marriages and incestuous commerce.

The first that caused gold and silver to be coined in Persia was Darius, the son of Cyaxares, or, as he is called in Scripture, Darius the Mede, the founder of the Medo-Persian monarchy. In his reign were coined those famous pieces of gold called Darics, which for many ages were preferred, being of pure gold, to all other coins throughout the East. They were stamped on one side with an archer clothed in a long robe, and crowned with a spiked-crown, holding a bow in his left hand, and an arrow in his right; on the other side was the effigies of Darius^s. To these pieces alluded Agefilaus, when, finding himself obliged to quit Asia, in order to suppress the tumults which Artaxerxes had, by dint of gold, excited in Greece, he said, that the king of Persia had driven him out of his dominions with thirty thousand archers. The Darics were of the same weight and value as the Attic stater. Darius seems to have learned the art and use of money from the Lydians; for the Medes had no money before they conquered Lydia^t: whereas Cræsus, king of

ⁿ Plutarch. ubi supra. ^o Arnob. contra Gentes. ^p Euseb. de Præp. Evangel. lib. vi. cap. 8. ^q Petron. Arb. Satir. ^r Seneca Controver. iv. lib. x. ^s Plutarch. in Artaxer. ^t Herod. lib. i. cap. 71.

Lydia, had coined innumerable pieces of gold called Cræfei. As it was not reasonable that the coin of Lydia should continue current after the downfall of the kingdom, we may suppose, that Darius re-coined the Cræfei with his own effigies, without altering their weight or value¹. All these pieces of gold, that were afterwards coined, of the same weight and value, by the succeeding kings, not only of the Persian, but also of the Macedonian race, were called Darics, from this Darius, in whose reign they were first coined.

*Their arts,
sciences,
&c.*

There was, it seems, no great learning among the Persians, before the time of Zoroastres, whom the Persians call Zerdusht or Zaratush, who is supposed to have flourished under Darius Hystaspes, and was the greatest mathematician and philosopher of the age he lived in. The magi being instructed in mathematics, astronomy, and natural philosophy, partly by him, and partly by Hystaspes, the father of Darius, were reputed above all others, skilled in those arts.

*Their trade
and navigation.*

The poverty of the ancient Persians, and their contempt of riches, shew them to have been quite strangers to trade and commerce, which are carried on with a prospect of gain. Before the conquest of Lydia they had no money, nor any cloathing but skins. They used water for drink, and had neither wine, nor any other liquor but what their barren country produced, as appears from the excellent speech of Sandanis, to dissuade Cræsus from invading Persia². After they subdued Lydia, and were masters of so many rich provinces, they probably applied their minds to trade and navigation, to supply themselves with those commodities which their country wanted, and at the same time to dispose of those which they could easily spare.

Their soldiery.

The Persians inured themselves to the toils of war³. They never parted with their swords, quivers, and bows, even in time of peace, but when they went to repose, and they were then always ready at hand⁴; which custom the Romans, who never used any weapons but in the field, looked upon as unbecoming a civilized nation. As soon as they were able to bear arms, they were obliged to enter themselves in the list of soldiers; but received no pay till the age of twenty. In time of war, they were all bound, upon pain of death, except such as were disabled by age

¹ Sir Isaac Newton's Chronol. p. 320.

² Herodot. lib. i. cap.

71.

³ Strabo, lib. xv.

⁴ Ammian. Marcell, lib. xxiii.

or otherwise, to appear under their respective standards, and attend the king in his expeditions^a. They used no mercenaries in the time of Herodian^b, nor maintained a standing army; but were all obliged, when occasion required, to repair to their colours, returning to their respective homes when the war was at an end, without any other pay or reward, than their share of the plunder.

In war they wore on the head a tiara, or head-piece, so thick, that it was proof against all kinds of offensive weapons; on the body, a coat of mail, wrought in likeness of scales, and embellished with sleeves of various colours; their thighs were defended with cuisses; their shields or rather targets were wicker; their javelins short; their bows of an uncommon length; their arrows of reeds: they wore short swords, hanging from a belt on the right side^c. Their horses were likewise covered with armour or thick hides, as we read in Xenophon^d, Curtius, and Ammianus Marcellinus. They were sure marksmen, and quicker than any other nation in discharging; especially in their flight, a custom peculiar to them and the Parthians. However, in the time of Procopius, their arrows did but little execution, a circumstance which he ascribes to the slackness of their bows; whereas no shield nor armour was proof against the Roman arrows^e. The number of their dead they knew only when the campaign was at an end; and in the following manner: before they took the field they passed before the king, or commander in chief, each man throwing an arrow into a basket. These baskets were sealed up with the royal signet, till they returned from the campaign, when they passed muster in the same manner, every one taking an arrow out of the same baskets. When they were all passed, the remaining arrows were counted, and from their amount they reckoned the number of their dead. This ancient custom continued even in the time of Procopius. They wore, over their armour, great coats of purple; but the king's was white, by which badge he was known, and often aimed at by the enemies^f. Among them it was disreputable to appear in public, but on horseback: on horseback they transacted all their private and public affairs, held their assemblies, and visited their friends^g. This custom, in process of time, began to degenerate into luxury, the Persians striving to outdo each

Their armour and discipline.

Manner of mustering.

^a Herod. lib. iv. cap. 84.

^b Herodian. lib. iii. & v.

^c Herod. lib. vii. cap. 61. Xenoph. lib. vii.

^d Lib. viii. cap.

190. ^e Procop. lib. i. de Bell. Pers. cap. 18.

^f Herodot.

lib. ix. Plut. in Artaxerxe.

^g Justin. lib. xii. cap. 3.

other

Marching;

other in the richness of their caparisons, their very horses, as Dionysius expresses it, champing the purest gold. They fought not only on horseback, but likewise from chariots drawn by four, six, and sometimes eight horses. They were the first, if we may believe Xenophon, that introduced the use of chariots armed with scythes. When they went on any expedition, their wives, mothers, and children followed the camp^b; which custom was observed among all the eastern nations: the presence of their families, they thought, inspired them with extraordinary courage. Their provisions and baggage were carried on camels, the soldiers being encumbered with no other burthen than their arms¹. Herodotus describes the march of Xerxes's army thus^k: the baggage carried by servants on beasts of burden, appeared in the front, and was followed by men of all nations, formed into a body, without distinction; between these and the rest of the army was left an interval, that they might not mix with that part where the king was. Before him marched a thousand horsemen, and the like number of spearmen, with their spears pointing downwards. After these came ten great horses, bred in the plains of Media, called the Nisean plains, caparisoned with rich furniture, and consecrated to Jupiter. The chariot of that god immediately followed, drawn by eight white horses, the conductor on foot, holding the reins, no mortal being allowed to mount the seat. After Jupiter, appeared the king, in a chariot drawn by Nisean horses. A thousand chosen spearmen, all Persians, marched next to the king, and were followed by another body of horse, consisting of a thousand chosen men of the same nation. After the horse, ten thousand Persian foot advanced, and of these one thousand were armed with javelins, which, instead of the common ornaments, were embellished with pomegranates of gold. The other nine thousand had pomegranates of silver. The ten thousand foot were followed, at the distance of two stadia, by the rest of the forces, which advanced promiscuously. They computed the number of their forces in the following manner: ten thousand men were crowded into as narrow a piece of ground as could possibly contain them; and, a kind of furrow being drawn round, they caused the like number to enter the ground, and continued doing so until the whole army was computed^l. When they intended to make war upon any nation, they sent heralds or ambassadors to demand of them earth and water; that is to com-

Manner of declaring war.

^b Curt. lib. iii. cap. 8. 12. Xenoph. lib. iv. p. 76.
^k Idem, lib. vii. cap. 60, & sequ

¹ Herodot.
^l Id. ibid.

mand

mand them to submit, and acknowledge the king of Persia as the sovereign lord of their country^m. This manner of declaring war they borrowed of the Medes, as Plutarch informs us; and the Medes seem to have imitated in this, as in many other things, the Assyrians, who, as appears from the book of Judith, used in that manner to require an entire submission. In time of action, the king was always in the centreⁿ, and used to encourage his men with a speech. The signal was given by the sound of trumpets, and followed by an universal shout of the whole army^o. The watch-word was in use even among them; for, Xenophon, speaking of Cyrus, tells us, that his was "Jupiter our leader and protector^p." The royal banner was a spread eagle of gold, carried on the point of a long spear^q. They esteemed those happy who died in the field, and inflicted exemplary punishments on those who abandoned their posts, or fled from their colours^r. They used no stratagems, nor cared for any advantage, that were not owing to their valour^s, or, as Ammianus Marcellinus expresses it, thought it unfair and base to steal a victory. They never fought in the night, unless attacked by the enemy; nor marched before the rising of the sun^t. Duels or single combats were in use among them, as is plain from the stories of Darius and Polydamas^u.

and engaging.

As to their laws, they are greatly commended by Xenophon, who prefers them to those of any other nation whatsoever^x; and observes, that other law-givers only appointed punishments for crimes committed, but did not take sufficient care to prevent men from committing them; whereas the main design of the Persian laws was to inspire men with a love of virtue, and abhorrence of vice, so as to avoid the one and pursue the other, without regarding either punishment or reward. To attain this end parents were not allowed to give their children what education they pleased, but were obliged to send them to public schools, where they were educated with great care, and never suffered, till they had attained the age of seventeen, to return home to their parents. These schools were not trusted to the care of common mercenary masters, but were governed by men of the first quality, and best characters, who taught them, by their example, the practice

Their laws.

^m Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Herod. lib. v. cap. 17. vi. 48. vii. 133.
ⁿ Xenoph. lib. i. *Ἀναβάσεως*. ^o Curt. lib. iii. ^p Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. vii. p. 137. ^q Idem, lib. vii. p. 136. Philostrat. Iconum, lib. ii. cap. 23. ^r Plutarch in Artax. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxvii. ^s Justin. lib. xi. ^t Curt. lib. v. cap. 12. 6. ^u Paus. in Eliac. ^x Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. i.

of all virtues; for these seminaries were not designed for learning sciences, but practising virtue. The youths were allowed no other food but bread and cresses, no other drink but water^r, at least from the age of seven to seventeen. Those who had not been educated in those schools, were excluded from all honours and preferments (N). There were particular laws against ingratitude; and whoever had done any one a good office, if he did not meet with a suitable return, could bring an action against the ungrateful person, who, upon conviction, was punished with great severity^z. When any individual went to give advice to the king, either of his own accord, or by the prince's order, in proposing his opinion, he stood upon an ingot of gold, which he was rewarded with if his advice proved wholesome; if otherwise, he was publicly whipped^a.

Before we close this section we shall add some particulars relating to the Persian kings, collected from the best authors. The kings of Persia were, above all others, the most arbitrary and absolute, and looked upon their subjects, however distinguished by birth or fortune, as the meanest of slaves. None, their own children not excepted, durst address them with any other title than that of "Lord, great king, king of kings^b;" which high-sounding titles they seem to have borrowed from the Assyrians; for Daniel^c, in speaking to Nebuchadnezzar, gives him the title of "king of kings." As the Persians imitated, in this particular, the haughtiness of the Assyrians, so did the Parthians that of the Persians^d, and continued this style even to the time of the emperor Constantius, to whom Sapor, king of Parthia, wrote himself "king of kings, allied to the stars, brother of the sun and moon." But to

^r Zenoph. Cyropæd. lib. i. Justin. lib. xli. ^z Zenoph. *ibid*.
 Ammian. Marcell. lib. iii. cap. 5. Themist. Orat. iii. ^a Ælian.
 Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 62. ^b Dio Chryf. Orat. iii. de regno.
 Arrian. lib. vi. Strabo, lib. xv. Ezra vii. 12. ^c Dan. ii. 37.
^d Plutarch in Pomp. & Lucullo.

(N) These schools the Persians called Liberal Markets; for they allowed no place for buying and selling, as appears from Cyrus's answer to the Lacedæmonians, that he was not afraid of those who, in the midst of their cities, have a place of public resort, where

they cheat one another by mutual oaths: which words, adds Herodotus, were levelled at all the Greeks, who, in every city, had some public place for buying and selling; whereas the Persians allow of no such places, nor any place at all of public resort.

return

return to the Persian kings: as they assumed high titles to themselves, so they bestowed no other on their subjects, by what dignity soever distinguished, but that of slaves^e; and treated them as such, not in words only, but in all other respects. To this slavish spirit, which is altogether inconsistent with true courage, Plato ascribes the downfall of the Persian monarchy^f. This spirit of slavery prevailed to such a degree among the Persians, that even those who were, by the king's order, publicly scourged, used to return him thanks for vouchsafing to remember them. Whoever betrayed the least reluctance to put in execution the king's command, however difficult, was sure to forfeit his head and right arm. The custom of adoring their kings, and putting them on the same level with the gods, is, by Justin, imputed to Cyrus the Great. None durst appear before the king without prostrating themselves on the ground; nay, they were all obliged, at what distance soever the king appeared, to pay him that adoration; nor did they exact it only from their own vassals, but also of foreign ministers and ambassadors; the captain of the guard being charged to enquire of those who asked admittance to the king, whether they were ready to adore him. If they refused to comply with that ceremony, they were told, that the king's ears was open to such only as were willing to pay him that homage; so that they were forced to transact the business they were charged with by means of the king's servants or eunuchs.

The great respect paid to the Persian monarchs.

Nor did their pride and ambition stop here; they sometimes ordered the same reverence to be paid to their favourites, as appears from the history of Haman and Mordecai; nay, even to their statues and images; for Philostratus acquaints us, that, in the time of Apollonius, a golden statue of the king was exposed to all those that entered Babylon, and that such only as adored it were admitted within the gates. When they appeared before the king, their common salutation was, "Live for ever; let the king live for ever." To sit in the king's chair or throne, to wear any part of the apparel which he had used, to look into the litter wherein his concubines were conveyed from their habitation to the palace, to shoot in hunting, or strike at the game before the king, were all capital crimes^g. Such as betrayed any secret, which

^e Zenoph. lib. i. *Αναβαρ.* Q. Curt. lib. v. ^f Plato, lib. iii. de Legibus. ^g Diod. Sicul. lib. xvii. Val. Maxim. lib. v. cap. 16. Q. Curt. lib. viii. Frontin. Stratag. cap. vi. Plutarch in Artaxerxe & Themistocle.

they

they had been trusted with by the king, or gave intelligence to the enemies of his designs, were punished with great severity; whence Alexander, as his historian tells us^b, could never have any notice before-hand, of their designs, the captives chusing rather to suffer death than betray the designs of their prince. No person was permitted to appear before the king without a present; which custom prevails among the orientals to this day. When he went on his progress, or marched out with his army, all the inhabitants of the countries or provinces, through which he passed, were obliged to declare their vassalage by some present; even the inhabitants of the villages and fields flocked to him with their donatives, some offering sheep, oxen, corn, or wine, others bringing milk, cheese, dates, &c. every one according to his ability¹ (S).

*How they
administer-
ed justice.*

The Persian kings frequently heard causes both civil and criminal; and, though transcendently vicious in other respects, were, nevertheless, very tender in point of justice and equity. After hearing the merits of the cause with great attention, they took several days to consider and advise with such as were conversant in their laws, before they gave sentence^k. When they sat on life and death, they not only considered the crime of which the delinquent was impeached, but all the actions, whether good or bad, of his whole life; and condemned, or cleared him, according as his crimes or deserts prevailed^l. Their humanity and good nature even towards those who, according to the laws, deserved death, is very remarkable. Thus Artaxerxes Longimanus ordered, that the turbans of the condemned persons should be struck off instead of their heads; that the strings with which they tied them should be cut, instead of their ears; and their garments scourged instead of their persons^m. Beside the king there were several judges, all men of unblemished characters, and well skilled in the laws of the kingdom. These were

^b Quint. Curtius, lib. iv.

32, 33.

^k Philostrat. lib. i. de Vita Apollon. Ephiphan.

lib. ii. cap. de Manichæis.

^l Joseph. Ant. lib. xi. cap. 3.

Herodot. lib. i. cap. 137.

^m Plutarch. in Artaxerxe & Apophthegm. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxx.

¹ Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. i. cap.

32, 33.

¹ Joseph. Ant. lib. xi. cap. 3.

^m Plutarch. in Artaxerxe & Apophthegm.

(S) We read in Plutarch and Ælian of one Sineta, a Persian, who, meeting by chance Artaxerxes, at a great distance from his poor cottage, and having nothing else to present him

with, ran to the river, and filling both his hands with water, made an offering of that to the king, which was by him graciously received.

called

called royal judges, administered justice at stated times in different provinces; and some of them attended the king whithersoever he went^d. The king often advised with them, and, in matters concerning himself, referred the whole to their judgment^e. They were nominated by the monarch, who, as that employment was for life, took great care to prefer only such as were famed for their integrity (U).

The Persian kings had several wives, besides what number of concubines they pleased to entertain. Darius maintained as many as the days of the year^f: Artaxerxes had by his concubines a hundred and fifteen children^g. The concubines were introduced to the king each in their turn: whence some have concluded, that the ancient Persian year consisted of three hundred and sixty days, seeing that several of the Persian monarchs had the like number of concubines, who went to their kings in constant courses^h.

Their concubines.

We shall end this section with some account of their revenues. Each province had its peculiar treasure and treasurer, as is plain from all the ancient writers both sacred and profane; and from the great sums which Alexander found in several particular provinces or cities, we may judge of the immense treasures they possessed. In the city of Damascus he found two thousand six hundred talents, and silver uncoined to the value of five hundred more; in Arbēla, four thousand talents; in Susa, forty thousand, and nine thousand Darics; in Persopolis a hundred and twenty thousand; in Pasargada, six thousand; in Ecbatan, a hundred and eighty thousandⁱ. These immense sums arose from the tributes which each province was yearly obliged to pay, according to the assessment of

Their revenues.

^d Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. i. cap. 34. ^e Herodot. lib. iii. ^f Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. ^g Justin. lib. x. ^h Whiston's Theory of

the Earth, lib. ii. p. 149. ⁱ Vide Curt. lib. v. Diodor. Sic. lib. xviii. Arrian. lib. iii. cap. 16. Plutarch. in Alexandr.

(U) Artaxerxes raised one to that dignity, as Ælian informs us, who was not a Persian, but a Mede, by birth, for having condemned his own son to death, according to the power which parents had, in those days, over their children. And Cambyfes, being informed that one of his judges had

received a bribe, caused him, upon conviction, to be slayed alive; and having covered the seat, on which he pronounced sentence, with his skin, appointed his son in his room, ordering him to sit in the same chair when he pronounced sentence.

Darius

Darius Hyftafpes; for, during the reigns of Cyrus and his fon Cambyfes, no tributes were impofed, the people voluntarily contributing, for the maintenance of the king and his army, what they thought fit. From the impofing of thefe taxes, and other things of the like nature, the Perfians gave Darius the nick-name of Merchant. The fum total of the king's revenues, according to the computation of Herodotus¹, amounted to fourteen thoufand five hundred and fixty Euboic talents, above fixteen millions fterling, befides other fmall fums. Thefe revenues were gathered from the provinces of Aſia only; but, in procefs of time, the iflands of feveral provinces of Europe, with Egypt, Syria, &c. were likewise taxed; which increafed the king's revenues to fuch a degree, that, if we believe Juſtin², Alexander, after the conqueſt of Perfia, received yearly from his fubjects the fum of three hundred thoufand talents. The Perfian kings preferved their treafures in the following manner: they caufed the gold and filver to be melted down, and poured into earthen veſſels, which they broke, when occaſion required, and took fuch a quantity as feemed neceſſary. The lands of the Perfians were freed from all taxes; but other provinces, befides money, were obliged to contribute confiderably, each ſomething of its proper product, towards the maintenance of the king; and, in the time of war, to that of his army. Thus the provinces of Cyrene and Barca, were, befides the ordinary taxes, aſſeſſed at fuch a quantity of corn as was fufficient to fupply a hundred and twenty thoufand men; the fatrapæ of Babylon maintained the king and his court for four months, and moreover paid him a yearly tribute of five hundred young eunuchs; the Ethiopians and adjoining people made a preſent, every third year, of two choenixes (X) of gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five Ethiopian children, and twenty elephants teeth, of the largeſt ſize: the Colchians, or Colchi, preſented the king, every fifth year, with a hundred boys, and the like number of young women: the Arabians with a quantity of frankincenſe, anſwering the weight of a thoufand talents³. But it is now time to diſmiſs this ſubject, and come to the moſt entertaining and important point of the Perfian hiſtory, their worſhip and religious ceremonies.

¹ Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 89, 95, 96. ² Juſtin. lib. xiii. ³ Herodot. ibid. Strabo, lib. xv. Zenoph. lib. iv. in *ANACAR.* p. 261.

(X) Choenix was a Greek quantity of wheat as ſerved a meaſure, containing ſuch a man one day.

S E C T. III.

Of the Religion of the Persians.

THERE is hardly any subject which hath employed the pens of authors, ancient or modern, that deserves to be treated with greater accuracy, or to be read with more attention than this, which we are now about to discuss. The religion of the Persians, if we may credit the most learned and industrious writers*, is venerable from its antiquity, and worthy of admiration, from its having subsisted now some thousand years, in as great or greater purity, than any other religion known to us at this day. But the accounts, which are still extant, of the religion of the ancient Persians, are far from corresponding exactly; and the descriptions, which modern travellers have given us of those, who profess this religion in Persia and India, even in our time, differ so widely, though not indeed in essential articles, that it requires no small degree of patience to separate the ore from the dross; and to present the reader with what is worthy of being known and believed, among numberless fables and misrepresentations.

The importance of this subject, and the difficulties which occur in treating it.

If we had still any collection of the ancient Persian records, we should find in them what would satisfy us as to the primitive doctrines of their wise men; but, as these are most of them either long since destroyed, or at least hidden from us, we must be content to follow such lights as yet remain (Y). This is certain, that the Persians have preserved

* Vide Hist. Relig. Vet. Persarum, per Tho. Hyde, 4to. Oxon. 1700. The Religion of the Perses, by Henry Lord, 4to, London, 1630. Relation de l'Etat present de Perse, par Sanfon, Paris, 1695. Hist. of Chaldaic Philosophy, by Tho. Stanley, book ii. p. 67, London, folio, 1662. Philos. General. per Theoph. Gazæum, lib. i. cap. 5. 8vo, London, 1676. Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, by dean Prideaux, vol. i. p. 299. 8vo, London, 1729. Herbert's, Della Valle's, Tavernier's Travels, &c.

(Y) On the whole, we have thought it necessary to peruse, and shall, on occasion, make use of whatever is related by Herbert, Ovington, Tavernier, Thevenot, Chardin, or other travellers, concerning the Perses, their tenets and customs; but it is our happiness to follow a more capable guide than any of these, the very learned and judicious Dr. Thomas Hyde, who, from the mighty stores of various learning which he possessed, as well as from the curious observations he

preserved the worship of one God, and other essential articles of true religion, through a long course of years, without suffering themselves to be seduced by fraud, or submitting through force, to any new faith, though they have so often changed their masters; a circumstance very singular, and in some sort commendable, if we consider how much they have been depressed since the death of Ysfdegherd, the last king of their own religion, and the opprobrious treatment they have met with from the Mahomedans, who are wont to call them, and Christians, with like contempt, infidels; though the principles of the former, as well as the latter, are far more reasonable than the ill connected legends of the Arabian impostor; and though the modern Persians (taking that proper name in a religious, not a civil sense) are unanimously acknowledged to be as honest, as charitable, and inoffensive people as any upon earth (Z).

We

† Hist. Relig. veter. Persar. cap. 33. Connection of the Old and New Testament.

in his travels had made, composed his valuable History of the Religion of the ancient Persians, wherein every thing he lays down is supported by ancient monuments, or by the express authority of that law, which this people professed to have received from Zerdasht, a compendium of whose writings, contained in the book Sad-der, the Enchiridion of the modern Persees, is annexed to the doctor's treatise (1).

(Z) We shall here set down the five precepts, which these Persians acknowledge as the rule of life, which every behedin, or layman, is bound to obey, as they are reported by Mr. Lord.

“ I. To have shame ever with them, as a remedy against

all sin: for a man would never oppress his inferiors, if he had any shame; a man would never steal, if he had any shame; a man would never bear false witness, if he had any shame; a man would never be overcome with drink, if he had any shame. But, because this is laid aside, men are ready to commit any of these crimes: and therefore, the behedin, or layman, must think of shame.

“ II. To have fear always present with them; and that every time the eye twinkled, or closed its lids together, they should stand in fear at those times of their prayers, lest they should not go to heaven; the thought of which should make them fear to commit sin, for that God sees what manner

(1) Vide Magorum Liber Sad-der Zoroastris Præcepta & Canones Continens: in Usum Ecclesiæ Magorum, at fidelium eorum omnium.

We have already taken it for granted, that the original inhabitants of Persia descended from Elam, the son of Shem: and from these two patriarchs it is most probable they derived the true religion, which at first flourished among them with the utmost purity; but, in process of time, was corrupted by an intermixture of superstitious rites, and heretical opinions, at such time as the rest of the oriental nations were overspread with that deluge of false religion, which generally goes under the name of Zabiism. From this it is affirmed, by some ancient authors, they were thoroughly recovered by the patriarch Abraham, who, they say, undertook the reformation of their religion; and having freed it as well from the pernicious doctrines they had imbibed, as from the superfluous ceremonies they had adopted, left it them once more in its pure and primitive condition and simplicity, wherein he transmitted it to his own descendents*. But if this were so, they were a second time corrupted, and engaged, if not in idolatrous practices, yet in superstitious acts of reverence to the heavenly bodies, and in practices inconsistent with the true faith.

Origin of the Persian religion.

The Persians pretend to derive their religion from Abraham.

However, the splendor of their religion might be darkened by these spots, yet it was never so far obscured as to admit any degree of comparison between it and the worship of the neighbouring nations (excepting the Jews); for the Persians continued zealous adorers of one all-wise and omnipotent God, whom they held to be infinite and omnipresent; so that they could not bear, that he should

They were always zealous in the service of one God.

* Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. cap. 2, & 3. Connection of the Old and New Testament, vol. i. part i. p. 25. 8vo.

of ones they are, that look up towards him.

“ III. That whensoever they are to do any thing, to think whether the thing be good or bad that they go about, whether commanded or forbidden in the Zundavastaw; if prohibited, they must not do it, if allowed by the Book of Religion, they may embrace and prosecute the same.

“ IV. That whatsoever of God's creatures they should first behold in the morning, it should be a monitor to put

them in mind of their thanksgivings to God, that had given such good things for men's service and use.

“ V. That whensoever they pray by day, they should turn their faces towards the sun; and whensoever they prayed by night, they should incline towards the moon: for that they are the two great lights of heaven, and God's two witnesses, most contrary to Lucifer, who loveth darkness more than light.”

be represented by either molten or graven images; or that the Creator and Lord of the universe should be circumscribed within the narrow bounds of temples^a. On this account they overturned the statues, and places of public worship among the Greeks, as unworthy of the Deity, and not, as they have been falsely charged by the Greeks, from any sacrilegious contempt of the gods of other countries. In the decline, indeed, of the ancient Persian empire, the worship of Venus was introduced by one of their princes; but, it was condemned by the magi^b, who remained firm to this great article of their faith, "There is one God;" and took care to transmit it religiously to their posterity.

*An account
of the na-
ture of that
respect
shown by
them to fire
and the sun.*

The only objection to which the ancient and modern Persians have rendered themselves liable, flows from the respect they have constantly paid to fire, and to the sun; yet if this matter be seriously and impartially considered, it will be found, that there is nothing of idolatry in this respect of theirs, but that they only worship God in the fire, and not fire as a god. That they should have an extraordinary veneration for the element of fire, and make choice rather of it, than of any of the rest, to be symbol of the Divine Nature, will appear less extraordinary, if we consider that a never-dying fire was kept on the altars of burnt-offerings at Jerusalem; that God revealed himself to Moses by a flame in a bush; and chose to testify his presence, in the host of Israel, by a pillar of fire, which went before them in the night, and which appeared only as a column of smoke in the day. As to their veneration of the sun, it is founded on their belief, that he is the noblest creature of the Almighty visible to us, and that his throne is placed there. Nor need we wonder either at the mistakes of ancient writers, or at the stories told us by some Mahomedan authors on this head, since it is very difficult for them to obtain a true knowledge of the religious tenets and customs of this people, because they were forbidden by their legislator Zoroaster, or Zerdusht, as appears from the book of Sad-der, to teach either their ancient language, or its character to strangers, or to instruct them in their religion^c. If any farther regard had been paid to the sun in ancient times, it would certainly have descended with the other parts of their religion to the modern Persians: but that it never reached them, the learned and judicious Dr. Hyde assures us; for an inti-

^a Herodot. lib. i. cap. 131.
^c Idem, p. 5.

^b Hist. Relig. Vet. Persar. p. 90.

mate friend of his being by him requested to enquire concerning the worship of Mithra (so the Persians call the sun), he accordingly asked some of the priests of the Persians, settled in India, at what seasons, and with what ceremonies they adored the sun. They answered, that they never adored the sun, or paid any sort of divine honours to that luminary, nor to the moon, nor to the planets; but only turned themselves towards the sun, when praying, because they looked upon it to come nearest to the nature of fire. The same excellent author observes, that among the precepts of Zoroaster, his disciples are directed to pay daily to the sun certain *niyâsh*, i. e. *salutations*, consisting only in words, and those too addressed to God, without any mention of priestly, i. e. *worship*, by bowing of the body. Yet if any custom of this sort prevails, it ought not to be interpreted as a mark of idolatrous adoration; for the Persian Mahommedans, who are zealous detesters of that impiety, and the Armenians, who dwell in Persia, are wont to pray in like manner, the latter making the sign of the cross, and bowing profoundly low at the sight of the rising sun ^d. To say the truth, adoration, that is, prostrating or bowing the body, was, even among the Hebrews, a civil as well as religious rite; or, to speak more properly, the same word, *hishtahavaah*, was used to express this act of reverence, when applied to God or man. An eminent rabbi says, that this, as an act of devotion, was not to be performed out of the sanctuary, that is, out of the temple ^e: it is forbid, by the second commandment to be paid to idols; but, as a civil rite, the Jews were at liberty thus to testify their respect to angels, and to persons of very high dignity. On the whole, therefore, there can be no more reason to suspect those Persians of idolatry on this account, than any other of the oriental nations, since the sun is no more than the kibra of the Persians, as the temple of Jerusalem was to the Jews, and that of Mecca is to the Mahommedans, who in this respect are so scrupulous, that they have tables to determine the bearing of Mecca ^f, from whatever place they are in.

As to the notions which the Persians have of the sun, they are not perfectly agreed in them; some believing the throne of God placed there, and that it is the seat of paradise; others entertaining a different opinion as to paradise, but pray nevertheless towards the sun as a sym-

The Mithra of the Persians never esteemed a deity;

^d Hist. Relig. Vet. Persar. p. 5, & 6.
xxvi. 1.

^f Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. p. 95.

^e Iarchi. Levit.

was the
fire;

bol of the Deity, on account of its purity. It is farther certain, that the Persians never called Mithra a god, or ascribed to it any name of the Divinity; and so far from directing any petitions to him, they constantly begin and end the ejaculations pronounced before the sun, with the praises of the most high God, to whom alone their prayers are addressed¹. As to the fire before which the Persians worship, taking that word in an extended sense, they acknowledge nothing of divinity therein; but esteeming it a symbol of the Deity, they prostrate themselves before it, and then, standing up, they pray to God. Thus, among the ruins of the ancient palace at Persepolis there are seen many marble statues of kings standing praying to God before the figures of the sun and fire, which are also placed on the wall before them; only one figure is seen kneeling, with the same symbols before it as the rest. The Persian kings, and principal persons, were wont, sometimes, to feed the sacred fires with precious oils, and rich aromatics, styling these epulæ ignis, or *fire-dainties*²; but still all things done to or by fire, were performed to the honour of God, and terminated solely in him; at least, if we may credit the concurring testimonies of Persian writers yet remaining, and the constant asseverations of those who still profess this religion.

was any
other sym-
bolical re-
presenta-
tions.

There is yet another point, in which the Persians are to be vindicated, before we can leave the learned reader satisfied, that they never were idolaters. They had amongst them, after the time of Zoroaster's reformation of their religion, certain caves, adorned not only with figures of the sun, but of the planets, and other heavenly bodies; which symbolical representations were called Mithriac figures, and were afterwards introduced into other nations, where they became objects of idolatrous worship; but they were far from being so among the Persians, who were a wise and well-instructed people; for, with them, they served only as mathematical symbols for preserving the true system of the universe, to which end, and no other, they were used, and perhaps invented by Zoroaster himself, as we shall hereafter have occasion to prove, when we come to speak of the life, doctrines, and writings, of that celebrated sage³.

The other
elements
recovered by
the Persi-
ans.

Though fire was deemed the symbol of the Divinity among the Persians, yet the other elements were also highly honoured by them; inasmuch, that the Greeks, and other

¹ Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 5.

² Ibid. cap. 4. p. 112.

³ Hyde, cap. 22. p. 290.

foreigners,

foreigners, who knew not their religious principles, called them worshippers of the elements; which was a flagrant calumny, since all the respect they paid them, arose from their conceiving them to be the first seeds of all things; wherefore they studied, by every method possible, to preserve each of them in its primitive purity. On this account, they prevented, as much as they could, the air from being infected by ill smells; and, for their officiousness on this head, Herodotus, according to his usual custom, represents them as believing the air a deity. "They hold," says he, "the whole expanse to be Jupiter^k. That they might, in like manner, preserve the earth from impurities, they would not bury their dead there, but suffered them to be devoured by birds and wild beasts, that, finding a tomb in their bowels, they might not infect the air." In fine, the preserving all the elements pure, was by them esteemed an act of high piety, and, as such, meriting the divine favour in this world, and in the world to come; for in all things they were great affectors of cleanliness, and studious, in an especial manner, of avoiding whatever might pollute them. Fire and water, however, were, in a peculiar manner, the objects of their care, because they were the most liable to be contaminated; and hence the Greeks, mistaking the degree of reverence they paid them, declared them, without scruple, worshippers of those elements, and tell us formal stories of the sacrifices offered to them both. It is very true, that kings often do extravagant things, and such as are contrary to the civil and religious laws of the countries they govern; so that it is not impossible, that some of the Persian princes might be guilty of what is laid to their charge; but it is not likely, because the Persians universally held, that whoever wilfully polluted either fire or water, deserved death in this world, and everlasting punishment in that which was to come; and that whoever threw the bones of dead creatures into waters, were certainly damned. For these reasons, the magi, wherever they were, took care to have all the waters in their neighbourhood watched, assigning them keepers, whose sole office it was, to look carefully to this matter, and to see that no filth was thrown or dropped into them; and for this employment they had stated, and well settled salaries: for, abhorring, as they did, to represent the Al-

*The purity
with
which they
preserved
the ele-
ments.*

^k Hyde, cap. 3. D'Herbelot, art. Balkhe. Herodot. lib. I. cap. 131.

mighty Lord of heaven and earth by artificial images of stone or metal, they chose to preserve fire and water in their utmost purity, that they might serve as symbols of the divine Nature, and remind them of the infinite purity of God. As they held the ministration of angels, so they believed, that one of these celestial guards was appointed to watch over the waters in general. This angel they called Ardifur, or Arduifur, for whom a particular *niyâish*, or salutation was prescribed; the title of which, in their ancient books, runs thus, "Hymn to Ardifur, for the benefits received from the sea, rivers, wells, and fountains." In this hymn, they praised him for taking care of all those places, and prayed that he might continue to do so, returning God thanks for the various uses made of water, and the mighty advantages resulting to mankind from his wise distribution of it throughout the earth. They were of opinion, that, in paradise, such people were peculiarly blessed, as had been cautious of defiling water, and had, in this respect, preserved a respect for that element, during their lives; for which cause, they recommended the care of this element, as well as fire, to their women, that is, their private fires, and the water used in their houses: for it does not appear that they ever admitted women to minister in religious matters, except in the mysteries of Venus; which, as we observed before, was a heresy, and as such detested by the orthodox magians. This love to purity, and especial regard to water, may stand sufficiently justified by the practice of the Jews, and the precepts in their law for corporal purification, as well as by the great advantage of preserving cleanliness in those hot climates; especially if we consider, that, in washing the hands, &c. and putting on the garments, they were bound to use solemn forms of prayer, as indeed there were set ejaculations to be used in the most ordinary actions of human life¹.

*Their
priests.*

With respect to the use they made of fire in their national religion, the priests, who attended it, by no means deserved the appellation of *ignarii sacerdotes*, i. e. *fire-priests*; for they were truly sacerdotes Dei, *priests of the Almighty*, who, though like the Jewish priests, they waited on and took care to preserve the sacred fire from being extinguished, were far from making this their only duty; for these, as well as those, read every day public prayers, and performed other sacerdotal offices, as we shall hereafter

¹ Hyde, cap. 6. p. 137.

describe more largely : yet such has been the hard fate of those people, that, because their principles were not known, and their ceremonies ill understood, they have been branded with the name of atesh-perest, i. e. *fire-worshippers* : so dangerous a thing it is to carry to any excess even innocent ceremonies. They never confessed their sins to any but to God, nor besought a remission of them from any but from him ; yet they inclined to perform these public acts of devotion before the symbol of the Deity, that is, before fire, or before the sun, as the witness of their actions. In like manner, the Jews confessed their sins to God in the temple, the fire flaming on the altar near them ; so that there was nothing of idolatry in this, though it might not be altogether free from superstition.

In the most ancient times the Persians had no temples at all, but reared altars, whereon they preserved their sacred fires, on the tops of mountains, and other solitary places^m. It was Zoroaster who persuaded them, for the sake of preserving these fires more conveniently, to erect over each a pyreum, or *fire-temple* ; but this had no relation to Mythra, or *the sun*, towards whom they could better testify their respect in the open air : neither did it subvert their ancient principles, that the Lord of the universe ought not to be enclosed within walls ; for their Pyrea did not circumscribe what they esteemed an image or semblance of the Divinity ; but only the symbol of his purity, and, as it were, a shadow of his nature. The overturning therefore of the Greek temples by Xerxes, was perfectly consistent with their reverence for fire, and respect for the sun. Of this, though many Greek and oriental writers were entirely ignorant, and were consequently prone to misrepresent them, yet authors of great candour, and more extensive knowledge have readily assented to it, and testified, to the honour of the Persians, that they worshipped only one God, without representing him by any image or picture whatsoeverⁿ.

The Persians, in early times, acknowledged one eternal and omnipotent Being, the Creator and Preserver of all things : him they called Yezad, Izad, or Izud ; also Ormuzd, Hormuz, or Hormizda : joining this with the modern name, they say, Hormizda Chodâ, *O Supreme God*. They acknowledged also an evil-created being, whom they

Their pyrea, or temples.

Their notions of good and evil beings.

^m Herodot. lib. i. cap. 131.
ⁿ ap. iii. p. 105.

^a Sharhistan, &c. apud Hyde,

styled Ahariman, Ahreman, or Ahriman, and, in verse, Ahrimanan, which signifies among them, *the devil*. To shew their detestation of this wicked being, his name in the ancient Persian books, was thus written, *‘uwmūqy* to intimate, that, as he was the implacable, and perpetual enemy of mankind, they maintained an everlasting enmity against him and all his works. The modern Persians call the devil *div* *.

Some have asserted, that the ancient Persians held a co-eternity of these two principles; but writers, better acquainted with the true tenets of this nation, agree, that Ahriman was created out of darkness, and that Oromasdes first subsisted alone; that by him the light and darkness were created; that in the composition of this world, good and evil are mixed together, and so shall continue to the end of all things, when each shall be separated and reduced to its own sphere. Plutarch, who was a very ingenious and inquisitive man, hath given us a long account of the doctrines of Zoroaster, very conformable to what has been already said, and agreeing perfectly well with the religion of the ancient patriarchs, except in a few strokes of fable, either inserted by the mistake of the reporter of that abstract, or invented by Zerdusht, to account for those things which surpass human understanding †. Some have endeavoured to account for the origin of the prince of darkness thus: Oromasdes, say they, said once within his mind, how shall my power appear, if there be nothing to oppose me? This reflection called Ahriman into being, who thence forward opposed all the designs of God; and thereby, in spite of himself, contributes to the glory of God. The souls of men, according to them, were at first unbodied spirits; but the Almighty, resolving to make use of them in warring against Ahriman, cloathed them with flesh, promising them that the light should never forsake them, until Ahriman and all his servants were subdued; after which the resurrection of the dead is to follow, with the separation of the light from the darkness, and the coming of the kingdom of peace. To say the truth, the notions they have of the beginning of all things, the state of our first parents, the attempts made on them by the prince of darkness, the last judgement, the salvation of the good, and the punishment of the bad, differ very little from what is delivered to us in

*Of God's
creating
Ahriman,
or the devil.*

* Hyde, cap. 11. p. 13.
Osrise.

† Plutarch de Iside &
Scripture

Scripture on these heads; only they have a long account of the war between God and the author of evil, which, they say, ended in a complete victory gained over the latter, and his adherents, who were constrained to surrender at discretion; that the Almighty did not annihilate his enemies, because, without opposition, his attributes could not have appeared with such lustre as they now do; that the world had subsisted three thousand years before this decisive battle, the whole of its duration being fixed to twelve thousand: that, after this defeat, God, by holding up three fingers, gave the evil one leave to choose which three thousand years, of the nine thousand yet to come, he would choose to take, wherein to trouble and vex mankind; whereupon he choose the middlemost. Before, say they, this power was given to Ahriman, man lived in a state of innocence; but, since his fall, war and all other evils have been introduced; these, however, shall, in time pass away, and man live again, for a certain space, in peace and glory. They place the day of judgement at the end of twelve thousand years: and as to the damned, they assert, that they shall be punished according to the heinousness of their crimes, two angels being appointed to be the inspectors of their sufferings. At last, however, even these are to be pardoned; but, never to be admitted to the joys of the blessed, but remain in a certain place by themselves, and wear in their foreheads a black mark, as a badge of that state, from whence, through the mercy of God they were freed^p.

The duration of the world.

The point on which the Persians differ most from us, is the manner of God's creating the world, which, they say, happened not in six days, but in six seasons, each season containing many days; the first of these they style Midyuzeram, containing forty-two days; in this, say they, the heavens were created, with all things belonging to them: the second they style Mid-Yusham, containing sixty days, wherein the waters were created: the third is by them named Pitishahim, including seventy-five days; in this the earth was made: the fourth they called Iyaseram, including thirty days, wherein were made the trees: the fifth goes under the name of Midi-Yarim, containing eighty days, in which all living creatures received being; the last they style Hamelpitamidim, comprehending seventy-five days, wherein was made man^q.

Of its creation.

^p Hyde cap. 9.

^q Lord's Religion of the Perses, ch. viii.

Their ceremonies and public worship.

It is now time for us to speak of the religious rites and ceremonies of the Persians, ancient and modern. They have a regular clergy, and are very zealous in asserting an uninterrupted succession of persons instructed in their sacred mysteries, from the time of Zerdusht to this day. Their ordinary priests are obliged to live according to certain rules, much more severe than those given to the laity. Their high-priests were under still stricter obligations; and all of them were bound to discharge their sacerdotal offices with mighty exactness and devotion*. As to their public worship, it was, and is still thus performed: in every pyreum, or fire-temple, there stood an altar, on which burnt the sacred fire, which was always kept alive by the priest: when the people assembled, in order to their devotions, the priest put on a white habit and a mitre, with a gauze or cloth passing before his mouth, that he might not breathe on the holy element: thus he read certain prayers out of the liturgy, which he held in one hand, speaking very softly, and in a whispering sort of tone, holding in his left hand certain small twigs of a sacred tree, which as soon as the service was over he threw into the fire. At these times all who were present put up their prayers to God, for such things as they stood in need of; and when prayers were finished, the priest and people withdrew silently, and with all other tokens of awful respect. All these rites are still observed; but, to prevent, as far as possible, the people from falling into idolatry, the priest now informs them, when they are going from their devotions, of the reasons why they worship before the fire, and all the obligations they are under to treat it with reverence. This exhortation runs usually in these words: "Forasmuch as fire was delivered to Zerdusht by the Almighty, as the symbol of his Majesty; wherefore it was required, that we should esteem it holy, and respect it as an emanation from the fountain of light; and that we love all things which resemble it, especially the sun and moon, the two great witnesses of God, the sight of which should put us in mind of his omniscience; therefore let us, without superstition, keep the command given us, ever more praising God for the great usefulness of this element; and beseeching him to make us always bear in mind the obligations we are under to do our duty towards him; which is as necessary to the health and happiness of

* Lord's Account of the Persian Religion.

the soul, as light and fire are to the ease and welfare of the body" (A)."

They

• Beauchamp's Essays on Important Subjects, sect. iii.

(A) Among the ancient magi there were three degrees of priests, ordinary priests, overseers of these, and an archimagus, like our archbishop, or rather a metropolitan, who was acknowledged as the successor of Zoroaster, and deemed the supreme head of their church. These, in the old Persian language, were styled mugh, i. e. *magus*; mubad, i. e. *superintendent*; and mubad, mubadan, or *high priest*. Lord in his Account of the Religion of the Persians, calls them by other names, viz. daroos, herboods, and distecoos; the last he makes equivalent to mubad mubadan, and says, there is never more than one chief of the clergy of the Perses at a time. As to the duty of their priests, the same writer tells us, that it was comprised in the eleven following rules. 1. The observing the rites prescribed in the liturgy of Zoroaster, because God is best pleased with that form of prayer which he has prescribed. 2. To keep his eyes from coveting what is another's; for God having given to every man what seems meet for him in his eyes, to desire that which is another's, is not only shewing a dislike of God's providence, but is likewise affronting him, by challenging that for our due, which he hath denied us. 3. To have a care always to speak the truth; for all truth cometh from God, all lies from the devil; all priests therefore

should speak truth, because they are the servants of the God of truth, and as such are credited in what they say. 4. To keep close to his business, and not meddle with worldly matters; for it belongs to the layman to see that the priest wants for nothing that is necessary, and to the priest not to desire any thing that is superfluous. 5. To get the book of the law by heart, that he may be always able to instruct the poor layman, and that he may see just cause to reverence his priest. 6. To keep himself pure and undefiled, because God loves the pure and undefiled; and this way only one man can excel another. 7. To be ready to forgive all injuries, shewing himself a pattern of meekness, that he may be thought one come from God; for we offend God every day, yet he giveth us things that are good, though we deserve that he should pour on us evil for evil. 8. To teach the common people to pray according to the law; to go and pray with them for public benefits, when they desire it, and to perform constantly the known duties of his function. 9. To give licence for marriage to join the man and woman together; and to take care that parents do not marry their children without his approbation. 10. To spend the greatest part of his time in the temple, that he may be ready to assist all who come to him, because thereto God hath appointed

Festivals.

They keep yearly six festivals, each of five days continuance, in memory of the six seasons in which all things were created: after each of these feasts, they keep a fast of five days, in memory of God's resting five days, as they believe, at each of these seasons. As often as they eat either flesh, fowl, or fish, they carry a small part of it to the temple, as an offering to God, beseeching him that he would pardon them for taking away the lives of his creatures, in order to their subsistence. They have none of those whimsical notions relating to cleanness or uncleanness in meats, which expose some religions to ridicule; but as they are a very complaisant as well as inoffensive people, they abstain from swine's flesh, and the flesh of kine, that they may neither offend the Mahomedans, nor the Banians, among whom they are obliged to live: they eat alone, for the sake of purity and cleanliness; they likewise drink every man out of his own cup^t.

Education of children.

When their children are initiated into their religion, they send for a priest; and this step is usually taken as soon as the child is born. The priest calculates its nativity; afterwards he asks what name is to be given it. This being agreed on by the father and its relations, the priest telleth it to its mother, who then says, "my child is called so or so; with which the ceremony ends at that time. The child is afterwards carried to the pyreum, where the priest first pours some water into the rind of a holy tree, and thence into the mouth of the child, beseeching God to cleanse the tender infant from whatever seeds of corruption it may have received from its father, and from the impurities derived from the mother. At seven years of age the child is confirmed: the priest teaches him some prayers, and instructs him in the first principles of religion. These are repeated daily, until he is well acquainted with the articles of his faith: then he is permitted to pray for the first time before the holy fire; after which prayer the priest gives him water to drink, and a pomegranate leaf to chew; he causes the lad to wash his body with clean water; then puts on a linen cassock next his skin, which descends below his waist, and is girt with

^t Lord's Religion of the Persians, p. 40. Hyde. Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 29.

appointed him. 11. To believe no other law than that given by Zerdusht; to add no- thing, nor to take any thing from it, because to this end it was revealed.

a girdle

a girdle of camel's hair, woven by the priest's own hand. After these ceremonies, the priest blesses him, bids him be a true Persee all the days of his life, to beware of falling into idolatry, or breaking any of the precepts given by Zerdusht" (B).

Of their marriages, we are told by a very intelligent *Marriages* author, that they have five sorts: first, that of children

" Lord's Religion of the Persees, p. 45. Hyde Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 34.

(B) As to the high-priest, he, over and above the duties enjoined the priests in general, is desired to observe the following thirteen precepts: 1. He must take care not to pollute himself in any manner, because God hath chosen him to be holy. 2. In order to do this, he must do all things for himself, to preserve himself from being contaminated by the uncleanness of others; as also to shew his humility in so high a station. 3. He is to take the layman's tythe, i. e. the tenth of all that he has, but not to his own use; for he is to consider himself as the almoner of God, who makes use of him only to dispense to the poor the tribute paid by the rich. 4. That this may appear to be fairly done, he must avoid all pomp and superfluity, and, at the year's end, must give away the last farthing, since his revenue is settled, and always paid with good will. 5. His house must be near the temple, and he must give a good example to his flock, by staying much at home, and by giving himself up to prayer. 6. As in his public, so in his private life, he must be extremely frugal and temperate

in all things. 7. He must not only be acquainted with the law, but with all the sciences; seeing he is to instruct all others of his religion, clergy and laity. 8. He must observe low diet, because high eating, or strong liquors, disturb the faculties of the mind, and discompose that serenity of disposition, which should be always found in the man of God. 9. He must fear only God, and hate nothing but sin. 10. As he is supreme in all spiritual causes, he must reprove sinners without any regard to their rank; and they must hear him patiently, since he speaks not in his own cause, but God's. 11. He must above all things study to distinguish truth from error. 12. Though in consequence of his high office, he may, for his consolation, receive visions and other manifestations from God, yet he is not to publish them; for that would but confound the people, who are to adhere to the written law. 13. He must preserve the ever-living fire, brought by Zerdusht from heaven, that it may endure through all ages, till the world shall be destroyed by that element (1).

(1) Lord's Religion of the Persees, p. 36.

in their minority; secondly, that of widowers with a second wife; thirdly, of such persons as marry by their own choice; fourthly, the marriage of the dead, which is occasioned by an opinion they have entertained, that married people are peculiarly happy in the other world, wherefore, when a young person dies in celibacy, they hire one to be married to him, or to her, which ceremony is performed a little after the burial; the last kind of marriage is where a person adopts either a son or a daughter, and then gives him or her in marriage; which is also founded on a religious opinion, that all men ought to leave heirs behind them, either natural or adopted. As to the ceremonies made use of on this occasion, they are very singular, but, at the same time, have nothing in them wild or irrational: the parties designing to contract matrimony are seated together on a bed, about midnight; opposite to them stand two priests, one for the man, the other for the woman, holding rice in their hands, to intimate the fruitfulness they wish the new married couple; on each hand of the priests stand the relations of the bride and bridegroom. Things being in this situation, the bridegroom's priest lays his fore-finger on the woman's forehead, and says, "Wilt thou have this man to be thy wedded husband?" The woman assenting, her priest lays his fore-finger on the man's forehead, and asks the like question; which being answered in the affirmative, the parties then join hands: the man promises that he will provide her a suitable maintenance; the woman acknowledges that all she has is his: the priests then scatter rice over them, wishing that they may be fruitful, and beseeching God, that they may have many sons and daughters, that they may live in unity of mind, and arrive at a good old age, in possession of all the joys of wedlock. The ceremony being performed, the woman's parents pay the dowry, and a feast of eight days is kept in honour of the marriage².

Their burials.

As to their burials, two things are remarkable; first, the place; secondly the manner. First, as to the place, they have a round tower erected, on the top of which the bodies of the dead are laid, to be devoured by the fowls of the air: some affirm, that they have separate towers for the good and for the bad; others allege that men, women, and children, are placed on several towers. The reason of thus exposing them we have elsewhere given,

² Lord's Religion of the Perses, p. 48.

viz. the preserving the elements pure; for they conceive, that by not interring the dead, they avoid polluting the earth, and by leaving the corpse unprotected from birds of prey, they provide in some measure against the infection of the air. However, this custom was anciently esteemed so barbarous by other nations, that of one of the ^capologists for the Christian faith, speaking of the good effects it had on men's minds, in reforming them from brutal and wicked habits, mentions this expressly, that the Persians, since they had received the Christian doctrines, no more exposed the bodies of their dead, but, afforded them a decent burial. Before we part with this subject, it may not be amiss to observe what is practised among them, when a man is on his death-bed: a priest is in such a case always sent for; and he drawing near the bed, prayeth thus, in the ear of the sick man: "O almighty Lord, thou hast commanded we should not offend thee, this man hath offended; thou hast ordained that we should do good, yet this man hath done evil; thou hast required that we should duly and exactly worship thee, which however this man hath neglected. Now, O merciful God, at the hour of death forgive him his offences, his misdeeds, and his neglects, and receive him to thyself!" When he is dead, the priest comes not near him; but the corpse is put on an iron bier, and carried to the place of interment, the bearers being forbid to speak as they go along, out of decency, and also because in the grave there is an unbroken silence: the dead body being placed on the tower, the priest standing at a distance, performeth the funeral service, which he concludes thus; "This our brother, while he lived, consisted of the four elements, now he is dead, let each take his own; earth to earth, air to air, water to water, fire to fire." They suppose that the spirit wanders for three days, after its departure from the body, and is in that space pursued and tormented by the devil, till it is able to reach their sacred fire, which he dare not approach. They therefore pray morning, noon, and night, for the soul of their deceased brother, during these three days, beseeching God to blot out his sins, and to cancel all his offences: on the fourth day, supposing his fate to be decided, they make a great feast; which closes the ceremonies used on this occasion ^d.

^c Theodor. de curand. Græc. Affectib. Serm. ix. de Legib. p. 128.

^d Lord's Religion of the Perses, p. 49.

S E C T. IV.

The Reigns of the Kings of Persia.

*The state of
Persia be-
fore Cyrus.*

AS we know but very little of the state of Persia before Cyrus's time, we shall not pretend to give an account of the kings who preceded that prince. We have already shewn, that Elam, or Persia, was governed in the earliest times by its own kings, and those very powerful. Chedorlaomer, the first king of Elam mentioned in Scripture, extended his conquests over many provinces of Asia; for Bera king of Sodom, Birsia king of Gomorrah, Shinarab king of Admah, Shemeber king of Zeboim, and the king of Bela or Zoar, were his tributaries*. These five princes lived twelve years in subjection to Chedorlaomer; but, in the thirteenth, uniting their forces, made an attempt towards the recovery of their former liberty. The king of Elam no sooner heard that they were in arms, than entering into an alliance with Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, and Tidal king of Nations, he marched out against them; and, having first reduced the Rephaims, the Zuzims, the Emims, the Horites, the Amalekites, and the Amorites of Hazezontamar, at last he fell upon the revolvers, put their army to the rout, killed the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah; and, having pillaged their cities, marched back towards Elam, loaded with the spoils of the conquered nations. Lot, who assisted the Sodomites, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner upon this occasion; and would have been carried into captivity, had he not been timely rescued by Abraham, who pursuing the enemy with a small body of chosen men, came up with them at Dan, the fifth day after their victory, put them to flight, and returned in triumph with his brother's son and all his family, redeemed from the insults of a victorious foe. By this overthrow Chedorlaomer lost the sovereignty of the Pentapolis, but retained his other conquests, which were very considerable. From the reign of this prince to that of Cyrus, we know nothing to be relied on, but what we have already hinted at in the history of the Medes; viz. that the Elamites were a great and powerful nation; that they were in all likelihood subdued by the Assyrians, but afterwards recovered their ancient liberty, and were governed by

* Gen. xiv. 4. & Joseph. Ant. lib. i. cap. 10.

princes of their own nation, till the sixth year of Nebuchadnezzar, when they were again brought under subjection by that great warrior, and his ally Cyaxares king of Media. While they lived in subjection to the Assyrians, Medes, and Babylonians, the throne was still filled with natives of Persia, though tributaries to those greater powers. The only great family we find upon record, is that of Achæmenes, which must have been very conspicuous, since Xerxes, when at the height of his glory, was proud to derive from thence his pedigree, which he does in the following manner ^f.

Achæmenes,	Teispes,	Hystaspes,
Cambyfes,	Ariaramnes,	Darius,
Cyrus,	Arfames,	Xerxes.

Of this great family there were two branches: from the first was descended Cyrus the Great, whose issue male failed in his two sons Cambyfes and Smerdis. Some place his ancestors in the following manner ^g:

Perfes,	Cyrus,	Cambyfes,
Achæmenes,	Cambyfes,	Smerdis.
Darius,	Cyrus the Great,	

They will have Perfes, of whom it is said, Persia borrowed its name, to be the first of this family that reigned in Persia. We are told that Achæmenes was nursed by an eagle ^h: and of this fabulous eagle the no less fabulous wolf of Romulus was, perhaps, a transcript. Darius, is mentioned by the scholiast of Aristophanes ⁱ; and supposed by some to have coined the famous Darics, or stateres Darici. Cyrus had two children, Cambyfes and Atossa: this last married Pharnaces king of Cappadocia ^k; and Cambyfes took to wife Mandane the so much celebrated daughter of Astyages king of Media, by whom he had Cyrus the Great. But as nothing occurs worthy of notice, especially that we can depend upon in the history of the Persian kings before Cyrus, we shall proceed, without dwelling on so dark and barren a subject, to the reign of that great and glorious prince.

The name of Cyrus is equally famous in sacred and profane history: in the latter, his valour and conquests have rendered his memory immortal, as has, in the former, his kind treatment of the captive Hebrews, whom he restored to their ancient state, country, and temple. Pro-

^f Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 11.
^h Ælian de Animal. lib. xii. cap. 21.
ⁱ Scholiast. Aristoph. ad Eccles. ver. 741, 742.
^k lib. xxxi.

^g Reinecc. Hist. Jul. p. 37.
ⁱ Scholiast. Aristoph. ad Eccles. ver. 741, 742.
^k Diod. Sicul. in Fragm.

phane historians are at no small variance with each other touching the birth of this prince, his education, and accession to the crown. Herodotus and Xenophon are the only two original authors, as we may call them, whom we can quote and follow in what relates to the life and exploits of this prince; for other writers have copied after them, some adopting the accounts of one and some of the other: they are both very minute in their relations, and agree in some particulars, but widely differ in others. We shall in the first place hear Herodotus, the father of history, as Tully calls him; but, whether his accounts be genuine, or rather interwoven, and seasoned to the Greek taste, with several fabulous and surprising incidents, is what we shall have occasion to examine afterwards.

*Account of
the birth,
education,
&c. of Cy-
rus, accord-
ing to He-
rodotus.*

Astyages, the last king of the Medes, being warned by a dream, that the son who was to be born of his daughter Mandane, should one day be lord of all Asia, resolved to marry her, not to a Mede, worthy of her bed, but to a Persian; and accordingly chose one Cambyfes, sprung from an ancient family, but of a peaceable disposition, and, as he thought, inferior in rank to a Mede, even of a middling condition. A year after they were married, Astyages was frightened with another dream, portending a-new, according to the interpretation of the magi, the empire of Asia to his grandson (C). Hereupon Astyages sent for his daughter, then pregnant; and, upon her arrival in Media, put her under a guard, determined to destroy the child she should be delivered of; for the magi had assured him that the issue of his daughter was to fill his throne. Mandane, not long after her confinement, was brought to bed of a son, whom Astyages delivered to Harpagus, enjoining him, as he tendered his own life, to take the new-born son of Mandane, and dispatch him with his own hands, in what manner he should think fit. Harpagus promised to put the king's order in execution; and having received from the guards the infant, richly dressed, went home under great concern, to see himself employed in so hateful and inhuman an office: he acquainted his wife with what had passed between Astyages

(C) His first dream was, but overflowed all Asia. In that his daughter Mandane had the other he saw a vine shooting so great a quantity of from the womb of his water, as not only filled the daughter, and extending its metropolis of the kingdom, branches over all Asia (1).

(1) Herodot. lib. i. cap. 107.

and himself; and resolved not to execute the sentence with his own hands, but to transfer his charge to another. With this design he immediately sent for one of the king's herdsmen, who kept his cattle in pastures, lying at the foot of certain mountains on the north of Ecbatan, towards the Caspian Sea: the herdsman's name was Mithridates, and his wife's Spaco, in the language of the Medes, which signifies *a bitch*, and answers to her Greek name Cyno. Mithridates, without delay, waited upon Harpagus, who commanded him, in the king's name, to take the infant, and expose it in the most dangerous and abandoned part of the mountains, upon pain of dying in the most exquisite tortures that could be invented: he added, that the king had charged him to see his orders put in execution. The herdsman not daring to make any remonstrance against the king's command, returned with the child to his cottage, where he found his wife just delivered of a son. During her husband's absence, she had been in great trouble and perplexity, on account of the message from Harpagus, who had never before sent for him; so that he no sooner set his foot within the door, than she asked him in great surprize, why Harpagus had sent for him in such haste. He told her he had been in the city, where he had heard and seen such things as grieved him beyond expression; that when he arrived, the house of Harpagus was all in tears; and that, as he went in, he was struck with horror at the sight of an infant, dressed in gold and the richest colours, panting and crying on the floor; that Harpagus had commanded him to carry away this child, and expose it on the mountains to the mercy of the wild beasts, upon pain of incurring the king's displeasure, and undergoing the severest punishments that could be inflicted; that, at first, he had supposed the unhappy infant to belong to the family of Harpagus; but that he had been afterwards informed by the servant that attended him out of the city, and delivered the babe into his hands, that it was born of Mandane the king's daughter, and was son to Cambyfes of Persia; and that Astyages had commanded it should be put to death *.

Having thus spoken, he disclosed the child to his wife; who no sooner saw it, but, being ravished with the innocent smiles of the infant, she embraced her husband, and with many tears intreated him not to execute the order he had received. But he representing the absolute necessity

Cyrus preserved and nursed by a shepherd.

* Herodot. lib. i. cap. 107, & seq.

of obeying, or forfeiting his own life, since the spies of Harpagus would, certainly keep a watchful eye over him, and see whether he performed what had been so strictly enjoined him, she suggested to him, to take their own child, that was still-born, to expose it instead of the other, and bring up the son of Mandane, as their own; for, "by that expedient," said she, "we shall sufficiently consult our own safety, without injuring others; the dead child will be honoured with a royal sepulchre, and the surviving infant be preserved from an untimely death^l.

Mithridates approved of this proposal, and delivering the infant he was charged to destroy, into his wife's hand, dressed the dead child in the rich apparel of the living; and carried it in the same basket in which he had brought the other, to the most unfrequented part of the mountains. Three days after, he acquainted Harpagus, that if he pleased, he could shew him the body of the dead infant; and he accordingly dispatched some of his friends, in whom he most confided, to see that the sentence had been put in execution, and to inter the royal infant. Thus was Cyrus (for so was the infant afterwards called) delivered from the snares of his grandfather, and educated by the herdsman's wife as her own^m.

*Gives
marks of
his royal
spirit.*

When he attained to the age of ten years, as he was one day playing in the pastures with other children, he was chosen king by his companions; and having, in virtue of that dignity, distinguished them into several orders and classes, the son of Artembares, a lord of eminent dignity among the Medes, who was one of his companions in the play, refused to obey his orders: whereupon Cyrus commanded him to be immediately seized, and whipped very severely. The boy, with many tears, complained to his father of what he had suffered from the herdsman's son; and the father, highly resenting the affront, hastened with his son to the king's palace; and shewing that prince in what a cruel and ignominious manner his child had been abused by the son of a slave, intreated him to avenge, by some very exemplary punishment, the indignity offered to him and his family. Astyages promised to give him full satisfaction; and commanding both the herdsman and his son to be brought before him, asked Cyrus, how he, who was the son of so mean a man, had dared to abuse the child

^l Herodot. lib. i. cap. 107, & seq.
^m Herodot. lib. i. cap. 114.

^m Herodot. lib. i.

of one of the chief lords of the kingdom. Cyrus replied, that he had done no more than he had a right to do; for the boys of the neighbourhood having chosen him their king, because they thought him the most worthy of that dignity, they submitted to what he, in virtue of that character, had commanded them; the son of Artembares alone having slighted his orders; who for his disobedience, had suffered the punishment he deserved. As Cyrus was pleading his cause, with an eloquence far superior to his years and education, Aftyages took particular notice of his mein and features; and thinking that he resembled himself, began to reflect on the time that his grandson was exposed, which he found to agree with the age of the herdsman's supposed son. Being perplexed with this thought, he dismissed Artembares, assuring him that his son should have no cause to complain, and commanded his guards to conduct Cyrus into the palace. Being then in private with the herdsman, he asked whose boy Cyrus was, and from whose hands he had him. Mithridates affirmed that he was his own child; and that the boy's mother, who was still living, would come, if he pleased to attest it. But Aftyages, giving no credit to what he averred, commanded his guards to seize him; whereupon he discovered, without reserve, the whole matter, and implored the king's mercy^a.

*Discoverea
to Aftyages.*

Aftyages was not so much incensed against the herdsman as against his favourite Harpagus, whom he ordered the guards to bring without delay, to the palace. Upon his arrival, the king, in a violent passion, asked him in what manner he had put to death the son of his daughter Mandane. When Harpagus saw the herdsman, he thought he should but aggravate his crime, by attempting to elude the storm that threatened him by any sort of falsehood, and therefore openly confessed what he had done; adding, that he thought he had taken the most effectual means he could to put his orders in execution; and that he truly believed the child was dead, since the most trusty among his friends had assured him, that they had seen and interred the body^o.

Astyages, dissembling his resentment, acquainted Harpagus with what the herdsman had confessed; adding that the child was still alive, and that he was very well pleased that his orders had not been executed; for he had been under great concern ever since he issued that cruel order,

^a Herodot. lib. i. cap. 116.

^o Herodot. lib. i. cap. 117.

and had not been able to bear the reproaches of his daughter. He then ordered Harpagus to send his son to wait on the young Cyrus, and to come himself that night to sup with him, since he intended to offer a sacrifice to the gods, in thanksgiving for the care they had taken of his grandson ^p.

Harpagus, overjoyed at the king's speech, returned home; and acquainting his wife with what had passed, immediately sent his only son to attend Cyrus, as he had been commanded. His son, who was about thirty years old, no sooner entered the palace, than he was seized, barbarously murdered, and cut in pieces, by order of Astyages; who gave directions that the mangled body, variously dressed and disguised, should be served up at supper. Harpagus and the rest of the guests repaired to the palace at the hour appointed: the others were splendidly entertained; but the table, where Harpagus supped, was served only with the flesh of his son. When he had done eating, the king asked him, whether he had been pleased with his viſtuals; and Harpagus answering, that he had never tasted any thing more delicious, the officers appointed for that purpose, brought in a basket, containing the head, hands and feet of his son, desiring him to uncover the basket, and take what he liked best. He did as they desired, and beheld the remains of his only child, without betraying any sort of concern or resentment at so shocking a sight; such was the command he had of his passions. The king enquired, whether he knew with what kind of meat he had been entertained: Harpagus replied, he knew very well, and was always well pleased with whatever his sovereign thought fit to ordain. Having thus replied, with a surprising temper, he collected the mangled parts of his innocent son, and went home, as our author conjectures, to inter them ^q.

*Cyrus sent
back to his
real pa-
rents.*

Astyages having thus vented his rage upon the unfortunate Harpagus, began to consider with himself what he should do with Cyrus; and, having again consulted the magi, their answer was, that if the boy lived, he must of necessity be king. Astyages then acquainted them that he was still alive, adding as a very material circumstance, that he had been chosen king by the boys of the neighbourhood where he lived, and performed all the parts of a real king with the utmost rigour and severity. Hereupon the magi replied; that the prediction of his reign was

^p Herodot. lib. i. cap. 118.

^q Herodot. lib. i. cap. 119.
already

already accomplished, in the choice which the boys had made of him for their king, and that he would never reign a second time; for dreams, said they, often end in things of small importance, and are fulfilled by trifling events. They advised him therefore to divest himself of all fear, and send the boy to his parents in Persia¹.

Astyages, well pleased with this answer, called Cyrus; and owning how much he had been wanting in the affection which he ought naturally to have had for him, by reason of an insignificant dream, desired him to get ready for a journey into Persia, where he would find his real father and mother, in circumstances very different from those of the poor herdsman and his wife Spaco².

Thus Astyages, after many kind expressions, dismissed his young grandson, attended by several lords of the first rank. Upon his arrival at his father's house, he was received with a tenderness and joy, which it is more easy to conceive than express. As they had long given him over for dead, they asked him in what manner his life had been preserved. He informed them that he had lived in utter ignorance of his condition, and had been unacquainted with his true birth, believing himself the son of the king's herdsman, until those who attended him on his journey into Persia discovered all that had passed. He related how he had been educated by the herdsman's wife, and, frequently repeating the name of Cyno, commended her on all occasions: and this name his parents made use of to persuade the Persians that the preservation of their son was, in a very particular manner, owing to the immortal gods, since he had been nourished, as they industriously spread abroad, and was commonly believed, by a bitch³.

When Cyrus attained to the age of manhood, and was become very popular in his own country, and famous in Media, on account of his extraordinary parts, Harpagus, who had never forgot the inhuman murder of his son, began to court his friendship, with a design to join with him, who had been equally injured, in revenging such barbarous treatment. At the same time he solicited the leading men among the Medes, who were highly dissatisfied with the tyrannical government of Astyages, to take up arms, and deliver themselves and their unhappy country from the calamities they groaned under, by deposing

*Harpagus
stirs up a
revolt
against
Astyages.*

¹ Herodot. lib. i. cap. 120.

² Idem, *ibid.* cap. 121.

³ Idem,

ibid. cap. 122.

Astyages,

*Cyrus's
stratagem
to cause the
Persians
to revolt.*

Astyages, and advancing his grandson Cyrus to the throne. They all to a man shewed themselves disposed to second his designs: whereupon he thought it high time to discover his intentions to Cyrus, who was to act the chief part in this revolution. Accordingly he acquainted him with them in a letter, which as all the roads leading to Persia were guarded by the king's troops, he conveyed to him in the belly of a hare; the hare he delivered to one of his most trusty domestics, dressed in the habit of a hunter, enjoining him to desire Cyrus not to open the letter in the presence of any person whatsoever. The messenger executed his orders; and Cyrus opening the hare with his own hands, found a letter, reminding him of the care which the gods had taken of his preservation against the wicked designs and barbarous attempts of his grandfather. He encouraged him to stir up the Persians to a revolt, and at the head of their forces to invade Media, where all the chief commanders were ready to join him, and determined at all events to advance him to the throne, instead of his unnatural grandfather Astyages. He took care to put him in mind of what he had suffered upon his account, and how barbarously he had been punished for not executing the king's bloody orders. Cyrus, having read the letter, began to consider what measures he should take to induce the Persians to revolt; and, after various schemes, fixed upon the following. He feigned a letter from Astyages, appointing him commander in chief of all the Persian forces. This he read in a general assembly of the nation, and, in virtue of his new commission, commanded them all to attend him, every man with a hatchet. He was obeyed; and they being all met, in pursuance to his orders, he enjoined them to clear, in one day, a spot of ground, containing eighteen or twenty furlongs, that was overgrown with thorns and briars. This laborious work being performed, not without some reluctance, he dismissed them, with orders to attend him again the next day. In the mean time, he caused all his father's flocks and herds to be killed and dressed, provided wine, and bought all the dainties Persia could afford. They all assembled next day, expecting to be employed as they had been the day before; but, contrary to their expectations, Cyrus ordered them to sit down on the green turf, and entertained them with a great feast. When they had solaced themselves with dainties, which to that time they had been strangers to, the young prince asked them, whether they would chuse to live always in that manner, or as they

they had done the day before. They all answered readily, that, as mirth and pleasure were greatly preferable to toil and labour, they would gladly chuse the condition of the present day before that of the preceding. Upon this answer, Cyrus acquainted them, that, if they hearkened to his advice, they should enjoy these and far greater pleasures, without any kind of servile labour; but, if they refused to follow him, they must undergo innumerable hardships, like those they had complained of the day before. He then disclosed to them his true design of delivering his countrymen from the Median bondage, and encouraged his countrymen to join him in so great and glorious an enterprize, by telling them that some divine power had brought him into the world, and miraculously saved his life, that he might be one day the author of their happiness. The Persians, who had lived for many years, with the utmost reluctance, in subjection to the Medes, declared him, with one accord, their leader. and protested that they would support him in so good a cause, at the expence of their lives^u.

In the mean time Astyages, being informed of what was doing in Persia, dispatched a messenger to Cyrus, injoining him to repair forthwith into Media; but Cyrus, by the same messenger, returned this resolute answer, that he would come sooner than Astyages desired. Whereupon the king drew together all his forces; and, forgetful of his cruelty toward Harpagus, appointed him general of the army. The two nations came to a general engagement; but the chief officers among the Medes passing over to Cyrus, with the bodies under their command, the rest of the army was routed with great slaughter. When Astyages heard of this defeat, he flew into a great passion; and vowing that Cyrus should not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory, he first caused the magi, who had interpreted his dream, to be impaled; and then arming all the Medes, marched out at the head of them in person. Both armies came to a second engagement, in which the Medes were again defeated, and the king himself taken prisoner. Astyages, in this state, was reproached and insulted by the revengeful Harpagus, who, among other things, asked him, what he now thought of his tragical feast, when he compelled him to devour the flesh of his own son, for which inhuman and barbarous action he had now fallen from the throne to a prison. Astyages, in return, fixing

*Astyages
defeated by
Cyrus.*

^u Herodot. lib. i. cap. 123—127.

Brave answer to the insulting Harpagus.

his eyes on Harpagus, asked him whether he had been instrumental in bringing about this revolution. He answered, that it was chiefly owing to him, since he had been the first to encourage Cyrus to this undertaking. "Then, replied Astyages, you are the weakest and most unjust of all men; the weakest, in giving the kingdom to another, when you might have seized on it yourself, since you have been able to effect this change; the most unjust, in enslaving your country, to revenge a private injury; for, if you were determined to depose me, and confer the kingdom on another, without taking the power into your own hands, you might, with more justice, have advanced a Mede to that dignity than a Persian: whereas the Medes, who were before lords of Persia, and no way concerned in the injury, are now, by your means reduced to the condition of slaves; and the Persians, who were servants to the Medes, are now become their lords." In this manner, concludes our author, Astyages was deprived of the kingdom, after he had reigned thirty-five years; and through his cruelty the Medes became subject to the Persians, after they had ruled over all those provinces of Asia, that lie on the other side the Halys, for the space of one hundred and twenty-eight years, including the time of the Scythian dominion over that part of Asia. As for Astyages, Cyrus kept him prisoner in his palace until his death, without practising any severity upon him^x.

His death.

This is the account Herodotus gives of the birth and fortune of Cyrus, who, according to the same historian^y, invaded the Massagetes; and having in the first battle feigned a flight, left a great quantity of provisions, especially wine, on the field. The Barbarians did not fail to seize on the booty, and indulged themselves in drinking to such excess, that they all fell asleep on the spot. In this condition Cyrus returned upon them, obtained an easy victory, and took a great many prisoners, among whom was Spargapises, the son of queen Tomyris. This heroine, being informed of the defeat of her troops, and captivity of her son, sent an herald to Cyrus, intreating him to release the young prince; which he refusing to do, Spargapises, preferring death to slavery, laid violent hands upon himself: whereupon his mother, Tomyris, animated with an eager desire of revenge, gave the Persians battle a second time; which, says our author, was the most obstinate and bloody that ever was fought by the Barbarians.

^x Herodot. lib. i. cap. 127—130. ^y Idem, ibid. cap. 221—223.

Many fell on both sides; but at last the Massagetes gaining the victory, the greatest part of the Persian army was cut in pieces, and Cyrus himself killed in the field, after having reigned twenty-nine years. Tomyris, having found his body among the slain, caused his head to be cut off, and thrown into a vessel filled with human blood, insulting the memory of the dead prince with these words. "Glut thyself with the blood which thou hast so insatiably thirsted after²."

What the same writer relates of his childish revenge upon the river Gyndes (D), while he was on his march to besiege Babylon, is not very consistent with the idea we have of that wise and experienced commander; for, he tells us, that one of the sacred horses of Cyrus being drowned in the river, that prince highly resenting such an affront, immediately caused the Gyndes to be cut by his army into three hundred and sixty channels; a work which employed his troops the whole campaign, and obliged him to postpone the siege of Babylon to the next summer.

We shall now exhibit the history of Cyrus, extracted from Xenophon, whom we choose to follow in what concerns that great conqueror.

Cyrus was the son of Cambyfes, either king of Persia, or a man of the first rank in that country, and of Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes. He was born a year after his uncle Cyaxares, the brother of Mandane. He lived the first twelve years of his life with his parents, in Persia (E), where he was educated after the Persian manner, and inured to hardships, and such exercises as might enable him to bear the toils and fatigues of war. When he was twelve years old, his mother Mandane took him with her into Media, to his grandfather Astyages, who had expressed a desire to see that young prince. During his residence at this court, the sweetness

YE. of FL.
1749.
Ante Chr.
599.

*The true
history of
Cyrus.*

² Herodot. lib. i. cap. 14.

(D) The river Gyndes rises on the hills of Matiene, and, passing through Dardania, falls into the Tigris.

(E) The name of Persia at that time extended only to one province of that empire, which was afterwards known by the same denomination; for the

whole Persian nation could at that time raise but one hundred and twenty thousand men (1). But, after the conquests of Cyrus, it took up that vast tract which extended east and west from the Indus to the Tigris, and north and south from the Caspian Sea to the Ocean.

(1) Vide Cyropæd, lib. i.

of

of his temper, his generous behaviour, and constant endeavour to oblige all men, gained him the affections of the Medes, and such an interest among the leading men of that nation, as afterwards greatly contributed to the erecting the empire he afterwards founded^a.

*His early
prowess.*

When he was about sixteen years of age he first entered the school of war, and gave extraordinary proofs both of his courage and conduct. Next year he returned to his father in Persia, where he remained until he was forty years of age, when he was recalled to the assistance of his uncle Cyaxares^b.

Astyages, king of the Medes, was succeeded, as we have shewn in the history of that people, by his son Cyaxares, brother to Mandane, Cyrus's mother. This prince was scarce seated on his throne, when he was informed that Neriglissar, king of Babylon, was preparing a powerful army to invade Media; that he had already engaged several princes, and, amongst others, Croesus king of Lydia; and that he had dispatched ambassadors into Cappadocia, Phrygia, Caria, Paphlagonia, Cilicia, and even to the Indies, to instil jealousies into the several princes of those countries, and to stir them up against the Medes and Persians, as aspiring to an universal monarchy. Cyaxares, therefore, called Cyrus out of Persia to his assistance; and, upon his arrival with a body of thirty thousand Persians, appointed him commander in chief, both of the Medes and Persians.

*Yr. of Fl.
1791.
Ante Chr.
557.*

*Reduces
Armenia.*

He had not been long in Media, before Cyaxares had occasion to employ him. The king of Armenia, who had hitherto lived in subjection to the Medes, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up by the powerful alliance formed against them, thought fit to lay hold of that opportunity and shake off the yoke: accordingly he refused to pay the usual tribute, and to send his quota of auxiliaries, which he was obliged to furnish in time of war. As this was a matter of dangerous consequence, which might prompt other dependent states to do the same, Cyrus thought it necessary to crush this revolt with the utmost expedition; therefore marching immediately with a chosen body of horse, and covering his design, as if he intended only to hunt on the hills of Armenia, he entered that country before the inhabitants had any intelligence of his march, surprised the king and all his fa-

^a Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. i. p. 36.
p. 44, 45, &c.

^b Idem, lib. i.

mily,

mily, and, having obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and send his quota of auxiliaries, restored him to his kingdom, and returned in triumph to his army in Media.

Both parties had now been employed three years together, in forming their alliances, and making preparations for war. In the beginning of the fourth year, the confederate armies on both sides took the field; and being come in sight of each other, a battle soon ensued, which proved very unfortunate for the Babylonians; for Neriglissar was killed, and Cræsus, king of Lydia, who, upon his death, took upon him the command of the army, was obliged to quit the field, and retire in the utmost confusion to his camp, from which he was driven next day by Cyrus, at the head of the Hyrcanians, who had revolted to him the night before. Cyrus reserved to himself all the horses that were taken, in order to form a body of cavalry for the Persian army, which hitherto they had wanted. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for Cyaxares; and, as for the prisoners, he allowed them to return home to their respective countries, without imposing any other condition upon them, than that they should deliver up their arms, and engage no more against him and his allies^c.

*Defeats the
Babyloni-
ans.
Neriglissar
killed
Cræsus de-
feated.*

Neriglissar was succeeded by Laborosoarchod, in whose reign, two Babylonian lords, Gobryas and Gadates, provoked by his cruelty, went over, with the provinces they governed, to Cyrus, who by these means got footing in Assyria, which greatly contributed to the reduction of Babylon. Laborosoarchod marched out against Gadates, but was by Cyrus driven back with great slaughter to his metropolis, where he continued, suffering Cyrus to ravage the whole country unmolested, till the season of the year obliged him to put an end to the campaign, with the reduction of three fortresses on the frontiers of Media^d.

*The Baby-
lonians re-
volt to Cy-
rus.*

Laborosoarchod was soon after murdered by his own subjects, who raised Nabonadius to the throne, in his room. Xenophon represents him as a wicked prince^e; and that such was his character, sufficiently appears by what is said of him in Daniel; but while he attended his pleasures, his mother Nitocris, a woman of great understanding, and a masculine spirit, took those precautions which we have mentioned in the Babylonian History, for the security of the metropolis and empire.

^c Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. iv. p. 87—104.
p. 123—140.

^e Ibid. lib. vii.

^d Idem lib. v.

While

*Cyrus's
success a-
gainst the
Babyloni-
ans.*

*Cræsus
commands
the confe-
derates.*

*The army
of Cyrus.*

While the queen was thus employed, Cyaxares came to Cyrus's camp. There, after several consultations, they determined to change their plan; and, instead of contenting themselves with ravaging the enemy's territories only, they thought it was necessary to employ their troops in taking towns and fortresses, that so they might make themselves masters of the country, and distress the city of Babylon, by intercepting their provisions^f. Accordingly, they took many cities, and brought under subjection intestine provinces, without meeting with any considerable resistance from the Babylonians. The progress Cyrus made in those conquests roused at last Nabonadius, who taking along with him great part of his treasures, left Babylon, and repaired to Cræsus, king of Lydia, by whose assistance, and interest, he concluded a formidable alliance with the Egyptians, Greeks, Thracians, and all the nations of the Lesser Asia. These various nations, under the conduct of Cræsus, who was by the king of Babylon appointed chief commander of all his forces, assembled near the river Pactolus, and from thence advanced to Thymbra, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous. Cyrus, being informed of these vast preparations by one of his intimate friends, who, by his order, had gone over to the enemy as a deserter, put himself in a condition to oppose them. Having encreased the number of his forces by new levies, he took leave of Cyaxares, who remained in Media with a third part of the troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceless; and marched forwards to meet the confederate forces in their own territories, in order to consume their forage, and disconcert their measures, by the quickness of his march, and the boldness of his undertaking. After a long march, he came up with the enemy at Thymbra, a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, the metropolis of that country. Cyrus's army was one hundred and ninety-six thousand strong, horse and foot; besides these troops he had three hundred chariots, armed with scythes, each chariot drawn by four horses abreast, covered with trappings that were proof against all sorts of missile weapons: he had likewise a great number of other chariots of a larger size, upon each of which he placed a tower about eighteen or twenty feet high, and in each tower were lodged twenty archers: these chariots were drawn by sixteen oxen, yoked a-breast. There was,

^f Xenoph. lib. vi. p. 156.

moreover,

moreover, a considerable number of camels, each mounted by two Arabian archers, the one looking towards the head, and the other towards the hinder part, of the camel. The army of Croesus was twice as numerous as that of Cyrus, amounting in the whole to four hundred and twenty thousand men. Both armies were drawn up on an immense plain, which gave room for extending their wings to the right and left. The design of Croesus, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army: he placed the Egyptians, who alone made a body of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and were the main strength of the army, in the centre ^g.

of the confederates.

When the two armies were in sight of each other, Croesus, observing how much his front exceeded that of Cyrus, made the centre halt, and the two wings advance, with a design to inclose Cyrus, and begin the attack on both sides at the same time. When the two detached bodies of the Lydian forces were sufficiently extended, Croesus gave the signal to the main body, which marched up to the front of the Persian army, while the two wings attacked them in flank; so that Cyrus's army was hemmed in on all sides ^h.

Yr. of Fl.
1800.
Ante Chr.
548.

*The battle
of Thym-
bra.*

This motion did not at all alarm Cyrus, who giving his troops the signal to face about, attacked in flank the enemy's forces, that were marching to fall upon his rear, and put them into great disorder. In the same moment a squadron of camels was made to advance against the enemy's other wing, consisting mostly of cavalry. Their horses, upon the approach of the camels, were so frightened, that most of them threw their riders, and trod them under foot; a circumstance which occasioned a great confusion. While they were thus in disorder, Artageses, an officer of great experience, at the head of a small body of horse, charged them so vigorously, that they could never afterwards rally; and at the same time, the chariots armed with scythes being furiously driven against them, they were entirely routed. Both the enemy's wings being put to flight, Cyrus commanded Abradates, his chief favourite, to fall upon the centre with the chariots we have mentioned above. The first ranks, consisting mostly of Lydians, not being able to stand so violent a charge, immediately gave way; but the Egyptians being covered

^g Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. vi. p. 167—171.

^h Idem. Cyropæd.

lib. vi. p. 173.

with their bucklers, and marching so close, that the chariots had not room to penetrate their ranks, a great slaughter of the Persians ensued; Abradates himself was killed, his chariot overturned, and most part of his men cut in pieces, after having signalized themselves in a very extraordinary manner. Upon his death, the Egyptians advancing boldly, obliged the Persian infantry to give way, and drove them back quite to their engines. There they met with a new shower of arrows and javelins, discharged upon them from the towers; and, at the same time, the Persian rear, advancing sword in hand, obliged their archers and spear-men to return to the charge. In the mean time, Cyrus having put to flight both the horse and foot on the left of the Egyptians, pushed on to the centre, where he had the mortification to find his Persians again giving ground; and, judging that the only way to stop the Egyptians, who were pursuing them, would be to attack them in the rear, he did so; at the same time, the Persian cavalry coming up to his assistance, the fight was renewed with great slaughter on both sides; for, the Egyptians facing about, defended themselves with incredible bravery. Cyrus himself was in great danger; for, his horse being killed under him, he fell in the midst of the enemies; but, being saved by his Persians, who, alarmed at his danger, threw themselves headlong upon those that surrounded him, the battle became more bloody than ever. At length Cyrus, admiring the valour of the Egyptians, and concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions, letting them know at the same time that all their allies had abandoned them. They accepted the terms offered; and having agreed with Cyrus, that they should not be obliged to carry arms against Croesus, in whose service they had been engaged, surrendered themselves to the conqueror, and from that time served him with the utmost fidelity¹.

*Cyrus in
imminent
danger.*

*Egyptians
surrender
to him.*

*Lydians
defeated.*

The engagement lasted till night, when Croesus retired with his troops to Sardis; and the other nations made the best of their way to their respective countries. Cyrus did not think fit to pursue them; but next morning advanced towards Sardis. Croesus, hearing of his approach, marched out with his Lydians (for the auxiliaries were already retired) to give him battle. As their principal strength consisted in cavalry, Cyrus made his camels advance against them, whose smell, the horses not being

¹ Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. vii. p. 172—178.

able to endure, they were immediately put in disorder. However, the Lydians, dismounting, fought on foot; but, after having kept their ground very obstinately for some time, were forced to make their retreat to Sardis, where they were immediately closely besieged by Cyrus^k.

In the night after he invested the city, he made him-
Sardis taken.

self master of the citadel, being conducted to it in the dark by a Persian slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he found no resistance, the Lydians having dispersed at the news of the citadel's being taken. Cyrus's first care was to save the town, which was the most wealthy of all Asia, from being plundered. With this view, he acquainted the inhabitants that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor their children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with; and Crœsus himself, who was taken and brought to Cyrus, set them an example, by delivering his immense treasures up to the conqueror. Cyrus, touched with compassion at the king's misfortune, and admiring his constancy in so great a change, treated him with great clemency, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the sole restriction of not having power to make war. From that time he took Crœsus with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for that prince, or out of policy, that he might be more secure of his person^l.

Cyrus's generosity to Crœsus.

Cyrus, after the conquest of Lydia, continued in the Lesser Asia till he had subdued the several nations inhabiting that great continent, from the Ægean Sea to the Euphrates. From thence he marched into Syria and Arabia; and having brought those nations likewise under subjection, he again entered Assyria, and marched towards Babylon, the only city in all the East that now held out against him, but was reduced, after two years siege, in the manner we have related in the history of that kingdom. The king of Babylon being killed, and those who were about him put to flight, the rest voluntarily submitted; and Cyrus, without any farther resistance, became master of the place. The reduction of Babylon put an end to the Babylonian empire, and fulfilled the pre-

His conquests.

Yr. of Fl.
 1812.
 Ante Chr.
 536.

Babylon taken.

^k Herodot. lib. i. cap. 80.

^l Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. vii.

Diod. Sicul. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 241. Plutarch. in Solon. Polyæn. Strat. lib. vii. Solim. in Polyhist. cap. i. Herodot. lib. i. cap. 88. 155, 156.

ditions which the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel had uttered against that proud metropolis.

Upon the death of the king of Babylon, Darius the Mede is said, in Scripture, to have taken the kingdom. By Darius the Mede is meant Cyaxares king of the Medes, and uncle to Cyrus, as we have endeavoured to prove in the History of Media; for Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire with him in partnership; nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he allowed him precedence of rank. Cyrus having settled his affairs at Babylon, returned into Persia, to pay a visit to his father and mother, who were still alive: after a short stay there, he went back to Babylon, together with Cyaxares. On their arrival they concerted the settlement of the whole empire; and having divided it into a hundred and twenty provinces, the government of these was given to such as had distinguished themselves during the war.

Cyrus's numerous army.

The civil government being thus settled, Cyrus ordered all his forces to join him at Babylon. On a general review he found they consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand horse, two thousand chariots armed with scythes, and six hundred thousand foot. Of these having distributed into garrisons such a number as he judged necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, where he settled the affairs of that province, and then reduced the other nations as far as the Red Sea and the confines of Ethiopia^m.

Cyaxares' death.

About two years after the reduction of Babylon Cyaxares dying, and also Cambyfes king of Persia, Cyrus returned to Babylon, and took upon him the whole government of the empire, which he held for the space of seven years.

Yr. of Fl. 1814. Ante Chr. 534.

Cyrus puts an end to the Jewish captivity.

In the first of these seven years expired the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity, when Cyrus published the famous edict, whereby the Jews were allowed to return to Jerusalem. There is no doubt but this edict was obtained by Daniel, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him that favour, he is said to have shewed him the prophecies of Isaiah^d, naming him, a hundred and twenty years before his birth, as one appointed by God to be a great conqueror, a king over many nations, and the restorer of his people, by ordering their temple to

^m Cyropæd. lib. viii. p. 233.

^d Isaiah xlv. 28. xlv. 1.

be rebuilt, and Jerusalem and Judæa to be repossessed by their ancient inhabitants.

Cyrus having issued his decree for restoring the Jews to their country, and rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem, the captive Hebrews assembled, out of the several provinces of the Babylonian empire, to the number of four thousand two hundred and thirty-six persons, with their servants, who amounted to seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven more, and set out for Judæa: and thus was the state of Judah and Jerusalem again restored, after they had laid desolate seventy years. Cyrus returned, at the same time, to the Jews, all the vessels of the temple which Nebuchadnezzar had brought from Jerusalem, and lodged in the temple of his god Baal.

This prince, being equally beloved by his own natural-born subjects, and those of the conquered nations, peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His new-erected empire was bounded on the east by the river Indus; on the north by the Caspian and Euxine Seas; on the west by the Ægean; and on the south by Ethiopia and the sea of Arabia. He kept his residence in the heart of these countries, spending the seven cold months at Babylon, on account of the warmth of that climate; three months in the spring at Susa, and two months, during the heat of summer, at Ecbatan.

*The extent
of his em-
pire.*

Having spent seven years in this state of tranquillity, and established his empire with such wisdom, that, upon the strength of this foundation alone, it stood above two hundred years, notwithstanding the rash and impolitic proceedings of his successors, he died in the seventieth year of his age*, equally regretted by all the nations of his vast dominions. He had reigned, from his first taking upon him the command of the Persian and Median armies, thirty years; from the reduction of Babylon nine^p; and, from his being sole monarch of the East, after the death of his uncle Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede, seven years^q. Authors differ strangely with each other as to the manner of his death. Xenophon's account, who makes him die in his bed, as fortunately as he lived, amidst his friends, and in his own country, seems to us by far the most probable; for all authors agree that he was buried at Pasargada in Persia, where Xenophon says he died; and his monument was to be seen in the time of Alexander the Great. Had he been slain in Scythia, as Herodotus and

Yr. of Fl.
1819.
Ante Chr.
529.

Cyrus dies.

* Cyropæd. lib. viii. p. 233.
in Canon.

^q Cyropæd. lib. viii. p. 233.

^p Cic. de Divin. lib. i.

^p Ptol.

Justin relate, and his body mangled, as they would have us believe, how could it ever have been rescued out of the hands of these enraged barbarians, and buried at Pasargada? Besides, it is by no means probable that such a wise man as Cyrus is represented to have been, and so far advanced in years, would have engaged in so rash an undertaking as the Scythian expedition is described by those who relate it; neither can it be conceived how the Persian empire could have subsisted, after so great an overthrow, especially in the hands of such a successor as Cambyfes: for, Herodotus tells us, that Cyrus was killed, and his whole army, consisting of two hundred thousand men, cut in pieces.

*Names
Cambyfes
for his suc-
cessor.*

On his death-bed he appointed his son Cambyfes to succeed him, who accordingly took possession of that vast empire. To his other son, Smerdis, he left several considerable governments. Cambyfes was scarce well seated on the throne, when he resolved upon a war with the Egyptians. But of this expedition, and the success that attended it, we have spoken at length in the History of Egypt, and therefore shall only add here, in a note, an extraordinary circumstance, related by Herodotus, on occasion of a battle fought at this time, of which he was himself an eye-witness (F).

The next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he resolved upon three different expeditions; the first

(F) That writer tells us, that the bones of the Persians and Egyptians were, in his time, still to be seen in the place where the battle was fought, but separated from each other. The skulls of the Egyptians were so hard, that they could scarce be broken by the violent blow of a large stone; whereas those of the Persians were so soft and weak, that they were broken with the least blow of a pebble. This difference, as our author tells us, was owing to the Egyptian custom of shaving the heads of their children early; by which means the bones were rendered

thicker and stronger through the heat of the sun, and the head preserved from baldness; there being fewer bald people in Egypt than in any other country. As the heads of the Egyptians were strengthened by this method, so those of the Persians were softened by the contrary custom; for they were not exposed to the sun, but always covered with caps and turbans. Our author adds that he observed the same thing at Papremis, in those who, together with Achæmenes, the son of Darius, were defeated by Inarus king of Lybia (1).

(1) Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 12.

against the Carthaginians, the second against the Hammonians, and the third against the Ethiopians; but he was obliged to lay aside the first project, because the Phœnicians, without whose help he could not carry on that war, refused to assist him against the Carthaginians, who were descended from them, Carthage being originally a Tyrian colony. But his heart being set on the other two, he sent ambassadors into Ethiopia, who, under that character, were to act as spies, and give him intelligence of the state and strength of the country. The Ethiopians being well apprized of the errand on which they were come, treated them with great contempt: however, the Ethiopian king, in return for the presents they brought him from Cambyfes, sent that monarch his own bow, which he delivered to the Persian ambassadors with these words: "It is not from any consideration of my friendship that the king of Persia sent you with these presents; neither have you spoken truth, but are come into my kingdom as spies. If your master were an honest man, he would desire no more than his own, and not attempt to enslave a people who had never done him any injury; however, give him this bow from me; and let him know, that the king of Ethiopia advises the king of Persia to make war upon the Ethiopians, when the Persians shall be able thus easily to bend so strong a bow; and, in the mean time, to thank the gods, that they have never inspired the Ethiopians with a desire of extending their dominions beyond their own country."

The Ethiopian king's noble message to Cambyfes.

Cambyfes, being informed by his ambassadors of all that passed, fell into a violent passion, and ordered his army immediately to begin their march, without considering that they were neither furnished with provisions, nor any other necessaries, for such an expedition. He left the Greek auxiliaries behind him, to keep the new-conquered countries in awe during his absence; and with the whole body of his land-forces began his march. When he arrived at Thebes, in the Upper Egypt, he detached fifty thousand men against the Hammonians, ordering them to ravage the whole country, and burn the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, while he, with the rest of the army, should advance against the Ethiopians. But before he had marched alſtth part of the way, his provisions were consumed, and the army reduced to the necessity of eating their beasts of burden. Cambyfes, notwithstanding these difficulties, pursued his rash attempt; and the soldiers fed upon herbs

Cambyfes' rash expedition against Ethiopia.

Yr. of Fl.
1824.
Ante Chr.
524.

* Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 20—22.

*His army
famished in
the desert.*

and grafs, fo long as they found any in the way; but, when they arrived in the fandy deserts, they were brought to fuch extremities, as to be obliged to devour one another; every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to ferve for food to his companions: a food, fays Seneca, more to be dreaded than famine itfelf^a. The king ftill perfifted in his mad defign, till, at laft, being apprehenfive of the danger his own perfon was in, he gave over the enterprize, and retreated to Thebes, after having loft great part of his army in this wild attempt^c.

*His other
army pe-
rifhes.*

As for that part of the army which was fent againft the Ammonians, they marched from Thebes, and, by the help of their guides, arrived at the city of Oafis, inhabited by Samians, feven days march diftant from Thebes. They undoubtedly arrived at that place; but what was their fate afterwards is uncertain; for they never returned either to Egypt or their own country. The Ammonians informed Herodotus, that they marched from Oafis, and that after they had entered the fandy defert, which lies beyond that city, a violent wind began to blow from the fouth, at the time of their dinner, and raifed the fands to fuch a degree, that the whole army was overwhelmed, and buried alive.

*He deftroys
all the
Egyptian
temples.*

Cambyfes, in his return to Thebes, caufed all the temples, which in that fuperftitious city were very rich and numerous, to be pillaged, and burnt down to the ground. We may judge of the richnefs of thofe temples, by the remains faved from the flames, which amounted to the fum of three hundred talents of gold, and two thoufand three hundred talents of filver. He likewife carried away the famous circle of gold, that encompassed the tomb of king Ozymandias, being three hundred and fixty-five cubits in circumference, on which were reprefented all the motions of the feveral conftellations^d.

From Thebes Cambyfes marched back to Memphis, where he difcharged the Greek mercenaries, and fent them to their refpective countries. On his entry into this city, finding the citizens feafting and rejoicing on the appearance of their god Apis, he was highly provoked, as fupposing their joy was occafioned by his unfnccessful expedition. He therefore called the magiftrates, to learn of them the caufe of that public mirth. They gave him a true account of the whole matter; but he, not believing what they faid, caufed them all to be put to

^a Seneca de Ira, lib. iii. cap. 20.

^c Herodot. ubi fupra, cap.

83. 26.

^d Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 43—46.

death,

death. He sent afterwards for the priests, who made him the same answer, telling him, that it had been always their custom, when their god appeared amongst them, to celebrate his appearance with the greatest demonstrations of joy they could express. He replied, "that if their god was so kind and familiar to shew himself to them, he too would be willingly acquainted with him;" and therefore commanded the deity to be brought forthwith into his presence; but no sooner did he appear before Cambyfes, than the king seeing a calf, and not, as he expected, a deity, flew into a violent passion, and, drawing his dagger, wounded Apis in the thigh; and, reproaching the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a brute, ordered them to be severely whipt, and all the Egyptians at Memphis, that should be found celebrating the feast of Apis, to be slain. This Apis, after he had languished some time, died of his wound in the temple, and was buried by the priests, who carefully concealed his death from Cambyfes *.

Cruelty at Memphis.

Kills their god Apis.

The Egyptians say, that after this sacrilegious action, which was looked upon by them as the greatest instance of impiety that ever was committed amongst them, Cambyfes is said to have been seized with lunacy at this time. But his actions shewed that he was so long before, of which he gave several instances. We find the following upon record.

Instances of that monarch's madness and cruelty.

He had a brother, by the same father and mother, called by Xenophon Tanaoxares, Smerdis by Herodotus, and by Justin, Mergis. He attended Cambyfes on his Egyptian expedition; but, being the only person in the army that could bend the bow, within two fingers breadth, which the king of Ethiopia had sent, Cambyfes, from hence, conceived such a jealousy of him, that being no longer able to bear him in the army, he sent him back into Persia. After his departure Cambyfes dreamed, that a messenger arriving from Persia told him that Smerdis was seated on the throne, and touched the heavens with his head; whereupon, suspecting that his brother aspired to the crown, he dispatched Prexaspes, one of his confidants, into Persia, with orders to put him to death; and these were accordingly executed *.

This murder was followed by another still more criminal. Cambyfes had with him in the camp his youngest sister, by name Meroe. As this princess was very beauti-

Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 28, 29.

* Ibid. cap. 30.

*He marries
his sister,*

*and kills
her.*

ful, he fell violently in love with her, and was desirous to marry her; but being convinced of the novelty of his design, he summoned all the royal judges of the Persian nation, whose office it was to interpret the laws, to know whether there was any law allowing a brother to marry a sister. The judges, unwilling to authorize such an incestuous marriage, and, at the same time, dreading the effects of the king's violent temper, should they contradict him, returned this crafty answer: "That they, truly, knew of no law allowing a man to marry his own sister, but had a law which gave the king of Persia liberty to do whatever he pleased." Upon this answer he solemnly married her; and thereby gave the first example of that incest which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters. This sister he took with him in all his expeditions, and gave her name to an island in the Nile, between Egypt and Ethiopia, which he conquered on his wild expedition against the Ethiopians. The occasion and manner of her death are thus reported. As Cambyfes was one day diverting himself in seeing a young dog and the whelp of a lion fighting, the dog being over-matched, another of the same litter, breaking loose, came to his assistance, by which means the lion was mastered. Whilst the king was mightily pleased with this adventure, Meroë, who sat by him, began to weep; and being obliged to tell her husband the cause of her grief, she confessed that this accident put her in mind of the fate of her brother Smerdis, whom no body had been good-natured enough to assist. There needed no more to excite the rage of that brutal prince, who, notwithstanding her being with child, gave her such a blow with his foot in the belly, that she miscarried, and soon after died ^y (G).

He caused also several of the chief lords of his court to be buried alive, and daily sacrificed some of them to his wild

^y Herodot. lib. lii. cap. 31, 32.

(G) The Egyptians, as our author informs us, relate the matter in a different manner. They say, that as Cambyfes and his sister were at table, she took a lettuce, and pulling the leaves asunder, asked her husband whether an entire lettuce was not more beautiful than

one pulled in pieces: he answered it was; whereupon Meroë replied, that he had represented the broken lettuce, by dismembering the house of Cyrus. Upon this Cambyfes struck her with his foot, which blow, as she was big with child, occasioned her death.

fury.

fury. He one day asked Prexaspes, who was his chief favourite, what the Persians said of him, and what character they gave him in their private conversations. Prexaspes answered, that they highly applauded his actions in general, but thought him too much addicted to wine. "I comprehend you, replied the king; they pretend that wine deprives me of my understanding; but, whether this charge be true or not, you shall be judge." Upon which he began to drink to a far greater excess than he had ever done before; then ordering the son of Prexaspes, who was his cup-bearer, to stand upright at the farther end of the hall, with his left hand upon his head, and turning to Prexaspes, "If I shoot, said he, this arrow through the heart of your son, the Persians, you must own, have slandered me; but, if I miss, I shall willingly allow them to have spoken the truth." He had no sooner uttered these words, than, drawing his bow, he shot the arrow through the body of the young man. Then commanding the body to be opened, and finding the arrow had pierced his heart, he asked the father with great joy, and in an insulting manner, whether he had ever seen a man shoot with a more steady hand; and whether or no the Persians had injured his character, by saying that wine deprived him of his reason. The unfortunate father, being under great apprehensions for his own life, answered, "that Apollo himself could not have shot more dextrously."

*Prexaspes's
son shot to
death.*

Yr. of Fl.
1825.
Ante Chr.
523.

While he was proceeding in this furious manner, Crœsus, king of Lydia, thought fit to lay before him the bad consequences that might attend so tyrannical a government; and his remonstrance provoked him to such a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death: but the officers who received his order suspended the execution of the sentence, and concealed Crœsus, thinking, that, if Cambyfes should enquire for him, and repent his rash resolution, they should be well rewarded for saving his life; but, if they found that Cambyfes neither altered his mind, nor desired to see him, they might still put him to death, pursuant to the order they had received. The next day he asked for Crœsus; when the officers acquainted him, that the king of Lydia was still alive. Cambyfes was transported with joy, when he heard that his order had not been put in execution; but at the same time commanded all those who had saved him, to be immediately put to death for their disobedience^a.

*Crœsus or-
dered to be
put to
death.*

^a Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 35.

^a Idem. ibid. cap. 36.

The conspiracy of Smerdis the magi.

Cambyfes, in the beginning of the eighth year of his reign, left Egypt, in order to return to Persia. On his coming into Syria, he met a herald, sent from Susa to the army, to acquaint them, that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, was proclaimed king, and commanding them all to acknowledge and obey him. This event was brought about in the following manner: Cambyfes, at his departure from Susa on the Egyptian expedition, had left the administration of affairs, during his absence, in the hands of Patizithes, one of the chief of the magi. This Patizithes had a brother, who very much resembled Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and was, perhaps on that account, called by the same name. As soon as he was fully assured of the death of that prince, and at the same time informed, that Cambyfes indulged his tyrannical temper to such a degree, that he was grown insupportable, he placed his brother on the throne, giving out that he was the true Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; and immediately dispatched heralds into all parts of the empire, to give notice of his accession to the crown. The herald, who was dispatched to Egypt, finding Cambyfes with his army at Ecbatan in Syria, placed himself in the midst of the army, and openly proclaimed the orders of Patizithes. Cambyfes caused him to be seized; and having strictly examined him in the presence of Prexaspes, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found that the true Smerdis was certainly dead; and that he who had usurped the throne, was Smerdis the magi. The mention of that name greatly affected Cambyfes, and revived in his memory the dream, in which he had seen a messenger, who came to acquaint him that Smerdis was seated on the throne. Reflecting how unjustly he had murdered his brother, he burst out into tears, and immediately ordered his army to march, with a design to suppress the growing rebellion; but, as he was mounting his horse, his sword slipped out of the scabbard, and wounded him in the thigh. He then asked the name of the city; and being informed that the place was called Ecbatan, he said aloud, "Fate has decreed, that Cambyfes, the son of Cyrus, shall die in this place." For, while he was in Egypt, having consulted the oracle of Butus, which was famous in that country, he was told, that he should die at Ecbatan; which he understanding of Ecbatan in Media, resolved to save his life by avoiding that place: but what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria. Being informed then that the place where he received the wound was called Ecbatan, and taking it for

Cambyfes accidentally wounded.

for certain that he must die there, he assembled the chief Persian lords that served in the army, and representing to them the true state of the case, earnestly required them never to submit to this impostor, or suffer the sovereignty to pass again from the Persians to the Medes, of which nation Smerdis the magi was, but to use their utmost endeavours to place on the throne one of their own blood. But the Persians, suspecting all this was said by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it; and Cambyfes dying a few days after of his wound, which mortified, they quietly submitted to the person whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true Smerdis. To this delusion Prexaspes greatly contributed, by saying that he had not killed Smerdis with his own hand.

Dies.

Cambyfes reigned seven years and five months. At his first accession to the crown, the Samaritans begged of him, that he would put a stop to the building of the temple at Jerusalem: and their application was not in vain; for though he had so much respect for the memory of his father, as not openly to revoke his decree, yet, in a great measure, he frustrated the design of it, by laying the Jews under such difficulties, that they could not pursue the work.

Yr. of Fl.
1826.
Ante Chr.
522.

The magi, who now ascended the throne, is called in Scripture^k, Artaxerxes; by Herodotus, Smerdis; by Æschylus, Mardys; by Ctesias, Spendadates; and by Justin, Orapastes. As soon as he had taken upon him the sovereignty, he granted to all his subjects an exemption from taxes, and all military service, for three years, and treated them with such beneficence, that all the nations of Asia, the Persians only excepted, expressed great sorrow at the revolution, that happened a few months after; and farther, to secure himself on the throne, he married Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, thinking, that, in case of a discovery, he might hold the empire by her title. She had been before married to her brother Cambyfes, who, upon the above mentioned decision of the royal judges, having espoused one of his sisters, took to wife the other also; and the magi, pretending to be her brother, married her upon the same footing. But the precautions he made use of to prevent his being discovered, only increased the suspicion, that he was not the true Smerdis. He had married all his predecessor's wives, and among the rest Phedyma, the daughter of Otanes, a Persian nobleman of the

*Smerdis,
the Magi,
mounts the
throne.*

*Marries
Atossa, the
daughter
of Cyrus.*

^k Ezra, iv. 7. 22. 23.

*Suspected
by Otanes.*

first rank. Otanes, to be fully satisfied in this matter, sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, to know of her, whether the king was really Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, or some other man. Phedyma returned answer, that as she had never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, she could not satisfy his curiosity. Otanes, by a second message, desired her to enquire of Atossa, who could not but know her own brother, whether this were he, or not. But his daughter let him know, that she was not allowed to speak to Atossa, or see any other of the women; because the king, whoever he was, had, from the very beginning of his reign, lodged his wives in distinct apartments. This answer greatly increased the suspicion of Otanes, who thereupon sent a third message to his daughter, directing her, when she should be next invited to his bed, to take the opportunity, while he was asleep, of feeling whether he had ears or not; for Cyrus having formerly caused the ears of Smerdis, the magi, to be cut off for a crime he had been guilty of, he told her, that, if the king had ears, she might be sure he was Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; but if otherwise, he could be no other than Smerdis, the magi, and therefore unworthy of possessing the crown, or her person. Phedyma answered, that the danger was very great; because, if the king had no ears, and should surprise her, endeavouring to find out such a truth, he would not fail putting her to death: nevertheless, in obedience to the commands of her father, she would make the attempt, and take upon her to satisfy his doubt. Accordingly, next time she was called to his bed, as soon as she perceived him fast asleep, she took the opportunity of making the trial; and finding he had no ears, early next morning acquainted her father with the discovery. Otanes, upon this information, imparted the whole affair to Gobryas and Aspathines, Persians of great distinction, whose honour he could rely on. These three agreed, that each should name one of his most trusty friends to be admitted into the secret. Pursuant to this resolution, Otanes named Intaphernes; Gobryas, Megabyzus; and Aspathines, Hydarnes. In the mean time Darius, the son of Hytaspes, arriving at Susa from Persia, where his father was governor, they made him privy to their resolutions. Darius, at their first meeting, told them, that he thought no man in Persia, but himself, had known, that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, was really dead, and the crown usurped by a magi; and therefore he was come with an intention to kill the usurper, without imparting his design to any other, that

*Discovered
by him.*

*Darius declares the
true Smerdis dead.*

that the glory of such an action might be entirely his own ; but, since others were apprized of the imposture, he was of opinion, that the usurper should be dispatched with all expedition, delays being, in such cases, very dangerous, and the best concerted plans easily disappointed. Otanes, on the other hand, was for putting off the execution of their design till some better opportunity offered, and not attempting their enterprize, till they had increased their number. But Darius remonstrating the danger there was of being discovered and betrayed, if they let the present opportunity slip, or imparted their design to others ; and openly protesting, that, if they did not make the attempt that very day, he would prevent any one from accusing him, by disclosing the whole matter to the magi, it was unanimously agreed, that they should not separate, under any pretence whatsoever, but immediately go to the palace, and either put the usurper to death, or die in the attempt^c.

While they were concerting their measures, the two magi, in order to remove all suspicion, engaged Prexaspes in their interest ; and, with great promises, prevailed upon him to give his word, and oblige himself with an oath, never to discover the fraud they had put upon the Persians. Prexaspes, as we have related above, knew that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, was not living, he having, by the command of Cambyfes, put him to death with his own hand. The magi, having engaged Prexaspes to be silent, acquainted him farther, that having determined to assemble all the Persians under the walls of the palace, they desired he would ascend a certain tower, and from thence publicly declare, that the king upon the throne was truly Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. Prexaspes having taken upon him this office, the magi summoned the Persians together, and commanded him to mount the tower, and from thence harangue the people. Prexaspes began this discourse with the genealogy of Cyrus ; and then put the Persians in mind of the great favours the nation had received from that prince. After having extolled Cyrus and his family, to the great astonishment of all, he sincerely declared all that had passed ; and told the people, that the apprehensions of the danger he must inevitably run, by publishing the imposture, had constrained him to conceal it so long ; but now his remorse no longer suffering him to act such a dishonourable part, he acknowledged,

*Prexaspes
noble speech
to the Per-
sians.*

^c Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 67, & seq.

that

that he had been compelled by Cambyfes to put his brother to death with his own hand; and that the person who poffeffed the throne, was Smerdis the magi. He then begged pardon of the gods and men, for the crime he had committed by compulfion, and againft his will; and, denouncing many imprecations againft the Perfians, if they fhould neglect to recover the fovereignty, and punifh the ufurper, he threw himfelf headlong from the top of the tower, and died on the fpot^d. It is eafy to imagine what confufion the news of this accident occafioned in the palace.

His death.

*The feven
lords force
into the
palace.*

In the mean time the confpirators, not knowing what had happened, were going to the palace, determined to execute their defign. On their way they were informed of what Prexafpes had faid and done, which obliging them to retire, and confer together, Otanes earneftly defired them anew to defer the enterprize; but Darius ftill infifting upon the immediate execution, and rejecting all propofals of delay (H), they fell in with his opinion, and went directly to the palace. The guards, refpecting their dignity, and not fufpecting perfons of their rank and figure, permitted them to pafs, without afking them any queftions; but as they came near the king's apartment, the eunuchs, who attended there to receive meffages, refufed them admittance, and threatened the guards for permitting them to pafs. Upon this repulfe the feven Perfians, encouraging each other, drew their fwords, killed all that opposed their paffage, and penetrated to the very room where the two magi were confulting about the late affair of Prexafpes. They no fooner heard this tumult and uproar, than the one taking up a bow, and the other a javelin, the weapons that came firft to hand in that confufion, they attacked the confpirators. He who had the bow, foon found that weapon of no ufe in fo clofe an action; but the other, with his javelin, wounded Aspathines in the thigh, and ftruck out the eye of Intaphernes: one of the brothers being killed, the other retired into a room adjoining to the place where they fought, with a defign to fhut himfelf in; but was fo clofely pur-

*Smerdis,
the magi,
murdered
by Darius.*

^d Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 74, 75.

(H) Herodotus tells us, that as they were contending, feven pieces; which when the feven couple of hawks appeared pursued the omen, all to a man fell in with Darius, and marched in the air, and tearing them to ftrait to the palace.

fued.

fued by Darius and Gobryas, that they broke into the room with him : Gobryas having seized him, held him fast in his arms ; but, as it was quite dark in that place, Darius stood still, not knowing how to direct his blow, and fearing to strike, lest he should kill his friend, instead of the enemy : which perplexity Gobryas perceiving, desired him to strike, though he should kill them both. Darius thus exhorted, resolved to put all to the venture, and, by good fortune, killed the usurper. Having thus dispatched the two brothers, they cut off their heads ; and leaving their two wounded companions to secure the palace, the other five, carrying the heads of the two magi, their hands all smeared with blood, marched out of the palace, exposed the heads to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole imposture. The Persians being informed of what had passed, were so enraged against the impostors, that they fell upon the whole sect, and killed every magi they met ; and, if night coming on had not put an end to the slaughter, no one of that order had been left alive. The day on which this happened, was ever afterwards celebrated by the Persians with the greatest solemnity, called by the name of Magophonia, or the slaughter of the magi. On that festival the magi durst not, for many years after, appear abroad ; but were obliged to shut themselves up in their houses*.

*The magi
massacred.*

Smerdis reigned only eight months, during which time a stop was put to the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem ; for, as soon as he was seated on the throne, the Samaritans acquainted him, that the Jews were rebuilding their city and temple ; that they had always been a rebellious and stubborn people ; and that, if he allowed them to finish that work, they would, without doubt, withdraw their obedience from the king, whereby he would lose all the provinces on that side the Euphrates. For the truth of what they advanced concerning the ungovernable temper of the Jews, they referred him to the records of his predecessors, which they desired him to enquire into concerning this matter. Accordingly Smerdis having caused the records to be carefully examined, and finding with what difficulty the Jews had been reduced by Nebuchadnezzar, issued an edict, forbidding them to proceed any farther in the work they had begun, and charged the Samaritans to see it put in execution. Hereupon the

*Samari-
tans ob-
struct the
building of
the temple.*

* Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 76—79.

*The seven
lords de-
bate about
settling the
govern-
ment.*

work was laid aside, till the second year of Darius Hytaspes, that is for the space of two years^u.

But to return to the conspirators. When the tumult and disorders which attend such events were appeased, they met, to consult what form of government they should introduce. Otanes was for a republic, Megapyzus spoke for an oligarchy; and Darius declared for monarchy. The opinion of the latter was, after a long debate embraced by all, except Otanes, who, finding his sentiments over-ruled, told them, that since they were resolved to set up a king, he would not be their competitor for a dignity, which he abhorred; and that being determined not to govern as a king, he would not be governed by one; and therefore was willing to give up his right to the crown, on condition, that neither he, nor his posterity should be subject to the royal power. The other six having granted him his demand; he immediately retired, and his descendants alone retained their liberty, which they enjoyed even in our author's days, being then no farther subject to the king, than it suited their conveniency, and only obliged to conform to the customs and manners of the country^v.

Upon his departure, the other six began to deliberate in what manner they should proceed to the election of a new king. But, in the first place, they unanimously agreed, that whichever of them should be chosen, should every year present Otanes, and his posterity with a Median vest; a mark of great distinction among the Persians, because he had been the chief author of the enterprize. In the next place, they determined, that the seven should have full liberty to enter into all the apartments of the palace without being introduced; and that the king should not be allowed to marry a woman out of any other family than those of the seven conspirators. Then taking the future election into consideration, they thought fit to refer it to Providence. Accordingly they all agreed to meet next morning, by the rising of the sun, on horseback, at an appointed place in the suburbs of the city; and that he whose horse first neighed should be king; for the sun being greatly revered by the Persians, they imagined by this method, to refer the election to him. Oebares, who had the charge of Darius's horses, hearing of this agreement, led a mare over-night to the place appointed, and brought to her his master's horse. The next morning the

Yr. of Fl.
1827.
Ante Chr.
521.

*Darius
chosen king
by a stratagem of his
groom.*

^u Ezra iv. 7—24.

Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 80—83.

fix

six Persians repairing to the place, pursuant to their agreement, Darius's horse remembering the mare, immediately neighed; and his competitors dismounting, saluted him king^l.

The Persian empire being thus restored, by the valour of these seven lords, they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with the most ample privileges: in all public affairs, they were the first to deliver their opinions: and ever afterwards the Persian kings of this race had seven chief counsellors, privileged in the same manner; by whose advice all public affairs of the kingdom were transacted. Under this character we find them often mentioned in Scripture^k.

Darius was the son of Hystaspes, a noble Persian of the royal family of Achæmenes, who had attended Cyrus in all his wars, and was, at that time, governor of the province of Persia. Darius is called in the writings of the modern Persians, Gushtasp, and his father Lorasp, and are famous among the Persians to this day. Darius, the better to establish himself on the throne, married the two daughters of Cyrus, Atossa and Artystona^l. The former had been wife to her brother Cambyses, and also to the magi; but Artystona had not been married before, and proved the most favoured and beloved of all his wives: for to these he added Parmys the daughter of the true Smerdis, and Phedyma the daughter of Otanes, who detected the magi. Having thus confirmed his power, he divided the whole empire into twenty satrapies, or governments, and appointed a governor over each division, ordering them pay an annual tribute^m. Persia alone was exempted from all manner of taxes: the Ethiopians and inhabitants of Colchis, were enjoined only to make some presents, and the Arabians to furnish yearly such a quantity of frankincense, as was equal in weight to a thousand talents. By this establishment, Darius received the yearly tribute of fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Euboic talents, besides several other sums of small consequenceⁿ.

Darius in the very beginning of his reign, put to death Intaphernes, one of the conspirators, on the following occasion: Intaphernes went to the palace to confer with Darius; but attempting to enter, pursuant to the

His pedigree.

Division of the empire.

His revenues.

^l Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 84—87. ^k Ezra vii. 14. Esth. i. 14, &c. ^l Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 88, & lib. vii. cap. 2. Justin. lib. i. cap. 10. ^m Plato, lib. iii. de Legib. ⁿ Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 85—97.

agreement above mentioned, in virtue of which they were to have free access to the king at all hours, except when he was retired to the women's apartments with some of his wives, he was stopped by the door-keeper, and a messenger, under colour that the king was in company with one of his wives. Intaphernes not believing them, drew his scimiter, and having cut off both their noses and ears, fastened their heads in a bridle, and so left them. In this condition they went in, and shewing themselves to the king, acquainted him with the cause of the ill usage they had received. Darius apprehending that this attempt might have been concerted by the six, sent for them, one after another, and asked, whether they approved the action; but finding that Intaphernes alone was guilty, he caused him to be seized with his children and family, left his relations, whom he suspected, should raise a rebellion. While they were under confinement, the wife of Intaphernes, made such loud complaints and lamentations at the gates of the palace, that Darius, touched with compassion, granted her the life of any one of her relations, leaving her the choice of the person. She, after some deliberation, chose her brother. Darius asked her, why she had so little regard to her husband and children, as to save the life of her brother rather than theirs. The woman readily answered, that she could get another husband, and have by him other children, if she should be deprived of those she had; but could never have another brother, her father and mother being already dead. The king was so well pleased with this answer, that he not only pardoned her brother, but saved also her eldest son. The others were all put to death with Intaphernes, without any regard to his late deserts.

Intaphernes put to death.

Yr. of Fl.

1828.

Ante Chr.

520.

In the beginning of the second year of Darius, the Jews resumed the work of the temple, being exhorted thereto by the prophet Haggai ^P: which the Samaritans understanding, applied to Tatnai, whom Darius had appointed governor of Syria and Palestine, acquainting him that the Jews were not authorised to pursue that work, which, if perfected, would encourage them to shake off the Persian yoke. Upon these remonstrances, Tatnai, accompanied by Setharboznai, who seems to have been governor of Samaria, went up to Jerusalem, and enquired of the elders, by what authority they had resumed the work. The elders produced the decree of Cyrus. Whereupon the go-

^P Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 118, 119.

^P Hagg. i. 1.

vernor,

ernor, who was a man of great justice and probity, wrote to the king, fairly stating the case, and desiring, that search might be made into the archives for the decree of Cyrus, which the Jews produced to justify themselves in what they were doing. The king, upon the receipt of this letter, ordered the archives of Babylon and Ecbatan to be carefully examined; and the decree being found in those of the latter, for Cyrus was at Ecbatan in Media, when he granted it, the king commanded it to be strictly observed in every particular. Having sent it to Tatnai and Setharboznai, he enjoined them to see it fully and effectually put in execution; decreeing, that whosoever should attempt to alter the edict, or obstruct the Jews in that work, should have his house pulled down, and a gibbet being made of the timber of it, should be hanged thereon. On the publication of this decree at Jerusalem, the work of the temple went on very successfully, and the state of the Jews in Judæa and Jerusalem was entirely restored⁹.

The building of the temple resumed by a new edict of Darius.

About the beginning of the fifth year of Darius, the Babylonians, not being able to live any longer in subjection to the Persians, who not only loaded them with heavy taxes, but had removed the imperial seat from Babylon, formerly the mistress of the East, to Susa, and thereby greatly diminished the splendor of that city, attempted to retrieve their ancient grandeur, by setting up for themselves against the Persians. With this view, taking advantage of the troubles that happened, first on the death of Cambyfes, and afterwards on the murder of the usurper Smerdis, they had privately stored their city with all manner of provisions for many years; and at last broke out into open rebellion, which drew Darius, with all his forces, to besiege the city. The Babylonians seeing themselves shut up by so numerous and powerful an army, turned all their thoughts to the supporting of a long siege, which, they imagined, would tire out the enemies troops. To prevent the consumption of their provisions, they took the most desperate and barbarous resolution that ever was put in execution by any nation. They agreed among themselves, to get rid of all unnecessary mouths; and therefore, drawing together all the women, old men, and children, they strangled them without distinction, whether wives, fathers, mothers, or sisters, every one being allowed to save only the wife he liked best, and a

Yr. of Fl.
1832.
Ante Chr.
516.

The Babylonians revolt.

Their desperate policy.

⁹ Ezra, v. 3, 4, 5, 16, 17. & vi. 1—14.

*Zopyrus's
strange
stratagem
to betray
them.*

maid servant to do the work of the house^r. Darius, having lain before Babylon a year and eight months, and being no less tired than his army, with so tedious a siege, endeavoured by various stratagems and artifices, to take the place; among others, he made use of that which had succeeded so well with Cyrus; but all his efforts were rendered ineffectual, by the unwearied vigilance of the Babylonians. When he was ready to break up the siege, and return to Persia, Zopyrus, one of his chief commanders, put him in possession of the town by the following contrivance: he cut off his own nose and ears; and, having mangled his body in a most cruel manner with stripes, fled to the Babylonians, thus disfigured, feigning that he was so treated by Darius, for advising him to raise the siege.

The Babylonians, seeing a man of that distinction so barbarously used, believed all he said against Darius; and assuring themselves of his fidelity, gave him the command of some forces. With these he sallied out, and having surrounded ten thousand Persians, which Darius by agreement had posted near the walls, he cut them all in pieces on the spot. A few days after, in another sally, he killed two thousand more. These successes so pleased the Babylonians, that he was appointed commander in chief of all their forces. Being vested with this command, he made a third sally, and put four thousand Persians more to the sword. Zopyrus acquired such credit by these exploits, that the guard of the city was entirely committed to his care. Not long after, Darius, pursuant to the agreement they had made, advanced with the whole body of his army, and surrounded the city. The Babylonians mounting the walls, made a vigorous defence; but, in the mean time, Zopyrus, opening the gates of Belus and Cissia, introduced the Persians, and delivered up the city to Darius.

Babylon taken by his means.

Thus, Babylon was taken a second time; and Darius, being put in possession of it, lowered the walls from two hundred cubits to fifty. As for the inhabitants, after having impaled about three thousand of the most guilty and active in the revolt, he pardoned the rest. And, because the Babylonians had destroyed their women, he took care to furnish them with wives, enjoining the neighbouring provinces to send fifty thousand women to Babylon, without which supply, the place must soon have become depopulated. As for Zopyrus, he was rewarded by Darius with

^r Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 159, 151.

the highest honours he could heap upon him, during the whole course of his life. That prince frequently used to say, that he would willingly lose twenty Babylons, rather than see Zopyrus so disfigured. Besides many other ample rewards, he bestowed upon him the revenues of Babylon for life, free from all charges and taxes; and could never after behold him, without shedding tears*.

After the reduction of Babylon, Darius undertook an expedition against the Scythians inhabiting those countries which lie between the Danube and the Tanais. His pretence for this war was, to revenge the calamities which they had brought upon Asia, when they invaded that country about one hundred and twenty years before, and held it in subjection for the space of twenty-eight years. Having made vast preparations for this expedition, and levied an army of seven hundred thousand men, he marched to the Thracian Bosphorus; and, having there passed over a bridge of boats, he reduced all Thrace. From Thrace he advanced to the Ister or Danube, where he had appointed his fleet to join him. Here he marched over another bridge of boats, and entered Scythia. The Scythians, determined not to venture an engagement in the open field, but to withdraw themselves from the frontiers, in proportion as the Persians advanced, laying waste the country, and filling up the wells and springs. Pursuant to this resolution, they met Darius on the frontiers, and finding him disposed to give them battle, they retired from country to country, till his army was quite tired with such tedious and fatiguing marches. At last he began to be sensible of the danger he was in of perishing with all his forces. Having resolved to give over the rash enterprize, and retire home, he lighted, in the night, a great number of fires, and leaving the old men and sick behind him in the camp, he marched off with all possible expedition, in order to reach the Danube. The Scythians perceiving next morning that the enemy was decamped, detached a considerable body to the Danube, who, as they were well acquainted with the roads, arrived at that river before Darius. The Scythians had sent expresses before-hand, to persuade the Ionians, whom Darius had left to guard the bridge, to break it down, and retire to their own country. Now they pressed them to it more earnestly, representing, that, as the time prescribed by Darius was expired, they were at liberty to return home, without break-

Darius's expedition against the Scythians.

Yr. of Fl.
1834.
Ante Chr.
414-

His vast army.

Darius over-reached by the Scythians.

* Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 154—160. & Justin, lib. i. in fine.

ing their word, or being wanting to their duty; for Darius had given them leave to break down the bridge, and withdraw to their own country, if he did not return at a fixed time, which was already elapsed. Hereupon the Ionians deliberated, whether they should comply with the request of the Scythians.

*Miltiades's
noble ad-
vice to the
cowardly
Ionians.*

Miltiades, prince of the Chersonesus of Thrace, having the public interest more at heart than his own private advantage, was for embracing so favourable an opportunity of shaking off the Persian yoke, breaking down the bridge, and thereby cutting off Darius's retreat. All the other commanders acquiesced, excepting Hyftieus prince of Miletus, who represented to the Ionian chiefs, that their power was connected with that of Darius, since it was under his protection; that each of them was lord in his own city; and that the cities of Ionia would not fail to depose them and recover their liberty, if the Persian power should sink or decline. This speech made a deep impression on the Ionian generals; and private interest prevailing over the public good, they determined to wait for Darius. But, to deceive the Scythians, and prevent them from using any violence, they declared, that their design was to retire, pursuant to their request; and, the better to impose upon the enemy, they began to break down the bridge, encouraging the Scythians to return back, and give Darius battle. They readily complied with the proposal, but missed Darius, who arrived safe at the bridge, repassed the Danube, and returned into Thrace. Here he left Megabyzus, one of his generals, with part of his army, to complete the conquest of that country. With the rest of his troops, he passed the Bosphorus, and took up his quarters at Sardis, where he spent the winter, and the greatest part of the year following, to refresh his army, which had suffered extremely in that rash and unsuccessful expedition.

Megabyzus, having brought all Thrace under subjection, dispatched seven Persian noblemen, that served under him, to Amyntas king of Macedon, injoining him to acknowledge Darius for his master, by the delivery of earth and water. Amyntas not only complied with their request, but received them into his house; and having prepared a sumptuous feast, entertained them with great magnificence. At the end of the entertainment, the Per-

* Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 1. 85, 86, & seqq. Justin. lib. ii. cap. 5. Cornel. Nep. in Miltiad.

ians, being heated with wine, desired Amyntas to bring in his concubines, wives, and daughters. Though this request was contrary to the custom of the country, the king, fearing to displease them, did as they required. But the Persians, not observing a due decency on that occasion, the king's son, by name Alexander, being no longer able to see his mother and sisters treated in such a manner, contrived to send them out of the room as if they were to return immediately; and at the same time, had the precaution to withdraw his father. In the mean time, he caused a like number of young men to be dressed like women, and armed with poinards under their garments. These he brought into the room, instead of the others; and, when the Persians began to use them as they had treated the women, they drew their poinards, and killed both the noblemen and their attendants. Great search was made by Megabyzus for these noblemen: but Alexander, having with large presents, bribed Sabares, who was sent to inquire after them, their death was concealed, and the whole matter stifled^u.

*The Persian
Lords mas-
sacred by
Alexander.*

Yr. of Fl.
1835.
Ante Chr.
513.

The Scythians, to be revenged on Darius for invading their country, having passed the Danube, laid waste all that part of Thrace which had submitted to the Persians, as far as the Hellespont; and loaded with booty returned home without any opposition.

*Thrace
plundered
by the Scy-
thians.*

Darius, having sufficiently refreshed his troops after the Scythian expedition, began to think of extending his dominions eastwards; and, in order to facilitate his design, resolved in the first place to make a discovery of those countries. With this view he caused a fleet to be built and equipped at Caspatyrus, a city on the river Indus. The command of this fleet he gave to Scylax, a Grecian of Caryandia, a city of Caria, who was well versed in maritime affairs. His orders were to sail down the current, and to make the best discoveries he could of the countries on both sides of the river, until he arrived at the Southern Ocean: from thence he was to steer his course westward, and that way return back to Persia. Scylax, having exactly observed his instructions, and sailed down the river Indus, entered the Red Sea by the Streights of Babelmandel; and, on the thirtieth month from his first setting out, landed in Egypt, at the same place from whence Necho, king of Egypt, formerly sent out the Phœnicians, who were in his service, to sail round the

*Darius's
conquest of
India.*

Yr. of Fl.
1839.
Ante Chr.
509.

^u Herodot. lib. v. cap. 20.

coasts of Africa. From hence Scylax returned to Susa, where he gave Darius a full account of his observations. Darius hereupon entered India at the head of a numerous army; and reducing that large country, made it the twentieth province of the Persian empire. Our author gives no account of this important war; he only says that Darius received from the provinces he conquered in this expedition, an annual tribute of three hundred and sixty talents of gold, according to the number of the days of the Persian year at that time * (H).

*The revolt
of the Ioni-
ans.*

Darius, after his return to Susa from the Scythian expedition, had appointed his brother Artaphernes governor of Sardis, and given Otanes the government of Thrace, and the adjacent countries along the sea-coast, in the room of Megabyzus. In the mean time, a sedition happening in Naxos, the chief island of the Cyclades, in the *Ægean* Sea, now called the Archipelago, the principal inhabitants, being overpowered by the populace, were banished the island. In their distress they had recourse to Aristagoras, beseeching him to restore them to their country. Aristagoras at that time resided at Miletus, and governed that city as deputy to Hystæus, to whom he was both nephew and son-in-law. When Aristagoras understood their case, he resolved to improve the opportunity, and attempt to make himself master of Naxos. With this view he promised to give the exiles all the assistance in his power; but not being strong enough to accomplish his design with his own forces, he communicated the matter to Artaphernes the king's brother, governor of Sardis, representing to him, that this was a fair opportunity of reducing Naxos: that if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the Cyclades might be easily brought under subjection: that the isle of Eubœa, lying very near the other, would be an easy conquest; and from thence the king would have a free passage into Greece. Artaphernes was so well pleased with these proposals, that, instead of the hundred ships which Aristagoras demanded, he promised him two hundred, provided the king approved of the enterprize. And accordingly, having obtained the king's

*Aristago-
ras's at-
tempt upon
Naxos
frustrated
by Mega-
bates.
Yr. of Fl.
1844.
Ante Chr.
504.*

* Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 44. & seq.

(H) This payment was made according to the standard of the Eubœi talent, the same with the Attic; and therefore, by the lowest computation, amounted to one million, ninety-five thousand pounds sterling.

consent,

consent, he sent the next spring to Miletus the number of ships which he had promised, under the command of Megabates, a noble Persian of the Achæmenian family; but, his commission being to obey the orders of Aristagoras, and the haughty Persian not brooking to be under the command of an Ionian, a dissension arose between the two generals; which was carried so far, that Megabates, to be revenged on Aristagoras, gave the Naxians secret intelligence of the design that was carrying on against them. Hereupon they made such preparations for their defence, that the Persians, after having spent four months in besieging the chief town of the island, and consuming all their provisions, were obliged to retire. The project having thus miscarried, Megabates threw all the blame upon Aristagoras; and his false accusations being more favourably heard than the just defence of the other, Artaphernes condemned him to defray all the charges of the expedition, giving him to understand, that they would be exacted with the utmost rigour. As he was not able to pay so large a sum, he foresaw that this affair would end, not only in the loss of his government, but in his utter ruin. This desperate situation made him entertain thoughts of revolting from the king, as the only expedient whereby he could extricate himself from his present difficulties. No sooner had he formed this design, than a messenger arrived from Hytæus, who confirmed him in it. Hytæus, after several years continuance at the Persian court, being weary of the manners of that nation, and desirous to return to his own country, thought this the most likely way to accomplish his desire; for he flattered himself, if any disturbances should arise in Ionia, he could prevail with Darius to send him thither to appease them, as in effect it happened. Aristagoras, finding his own inclinations backed by the orders of Hytæus, imparted his design to the leading men of Ionia, whom he found ready to come into his measures; and therefore, being now determined to revolt, applied himself wholly to make all manner of preparations for so great an undertaking *.

*Stirs up the
Ionians to
revolt.*

Next year Aristagoras, in order to engage the Ionians more resolutely to stand by him, reinstated them in their liberty, and all their former privileges. He began with Miletus, where he divested himself of his power, and gave it up into the hands of the people. He then undertook a journey through all Ionia, where, by his example and cre-

* Herodot. lib. v. cap. 30, 37.

*Is joined by
the Atheni-
ans.*

dit, he prevailed upon all the other petty princes, or, as the Greeks then called them, tyrants, to do the same. Having thus united them all into one common league, of which he himself was declared the head, he openly revolted from the king; and made great preparations both by sea and land for carrying on a war. To strengthen himself the more against the Persians, in the beginning of the following year he went to Lacedæmon, to engage that city in his interest; but not being able to prevail upon Cleomenes, who was at that time king of Lacedæmon, to send him any succours, he proceeded to Athens, where he met with a favourable reception; for he had the good fortune to arrive at a time when the Athenians were disposed to close with any measures against the Persians, with whom they were highly exasperated on the following occasion: Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, having been banished about ten years before, and having tried in vain several other ways to bring about his restoration, at length applied to Artaphernes, at Sardis; and, having insinuated himself into his favour, did all that lay in his power to stir him up against his country. The Athenians, having intelligence of these practices, sent ambassadors to Sardis, desiring Artaphernes not to give ear to what any of their outlaws should insinuate to their disadvantage. The answer of Artaphernes to this embassy was, that, if they desired to live in peace, they must recal Hippias. This haughty message incensed the Athenians to a great degree against the Persians; and Aristagoras, arriving there just at this juncture, easily obtained whatever he desired. The Athenians ordered a fleet of twenty ships to be immediately equipped, and sent to the assistance of the Ionians.

*Sardis taken and
burnt by
the Ionians.*

Yr. of Fl.
1848.
Ante Chr.
500.

These last, having drawn together all their troops, and being reinforced with the twenty Athenian ships, and five more from Eretria, a city in the island of Eubœa, set sail for Ephesus; and having left their ships there, marched by land to the city of Sardis, which they easily reduced. As most of the houses were built with reeds, an Ionian foldier, having accidentally set one of them on fire, and the flame spreading, the whole city was reduced to ashes; but the citadel, whether Artaphernes had retired, was preserved. After this accident, the Persians and Lydians drawing together their forces, and other troops coming in full march to their assistance, the Ionians, who had not been able to force the citadel, judged it was high time for them to withdraw; and accordingly marched back with

with all possible expedition, in order to reembark at Ephesus: but, before they had reached that place, they were overtaken by the enemy, and defeated with great slaughter^γ. The Athenians, who escaped, immediately hoisted sail, and returned home; nor could they ever afterwards be prevailed upon to concern themselves in this war; however, their having engaged thus far, gave life to that war, which was carried on afterwards for several generations by the two nations, and ended at last in the utter destruction of the Persian empire; for, Darius, being informed of the burning of Sardis, and hearing that the Athenians had been concerned in that undertaking, determined from that time to make war upon Greece: and, that he might never forget his resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry every day to him, with a loud voice, while he was at dinner, three times, "Remember the Athenians^z." In the burning of Sardis, the temple of Cybele, the chief goddess of that country, accidentally taking fire, was entirely consumed. This accident served afterwards as a pretence to the Persians for burning all the temples of Greece⁴. But the true motive which led them to this outrage, we shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

Ionians defeated.

Darius's resentment against the Athenians.

The Ionians, though deserted by the Athenians, and considerably weakened by their late overthrow, did not lose courage, but pursued their point with great resolution. Their fleet sailed to the Hellespont and the Propontis, where they reduced the city of Byzantium, and most of the other Greek cities on those coasts. As they were sailing back they made a descent on Caria, and obliged the inhabitants to join them in this war: the people of Cyprus likewise entered into the same confederacy, and openly revolted from the Persians. The Persian generals in those quarters, finding that the revolt began to be universal, drew together what troops they had in Cilicia, and the neighbouring provinces; and, at the same time, enjoined the Phœnicians to assist them with their whole naval power. The Ionians, as they were sailing to Cyprus, fell in with the Phœnician fleet, attacked and dispersed them. But at the same time the Persian troops that were landed in Cyprus, having gained a complete victory over the rebels, and killed in the engagement Aristagoras himself, the leading man and first author of the revolt, the Ioni-

The Ionians success against the Persians.

Aristagoras defeated and killed.

^γ Herodot. lib. v. cap. 38.—102.
⁴ Idem, ibid. cap. 98—103.

^z Idem, ibid. cap. 105.

ans reaped no advantage from their victory by sea ; for the whole island of Cyprus was again brought under subjection ^b.

After the reduction of Cyprus, Daurises, Hymeas, and Otanes, three Persian generals, and all sons-in-law to Darius, having divided their forces into three bodies, marched three different ways against the revolters : Daurises held his course to the Hellespont, and from thence, after possessing himself of the revolted cities, marched against the Carians, whom he overthrew in two successive battles ; but in a third, being drawn into an ambuscade, he was slain, with several other Persians of distinction, and his whole army cut in pieces. Hymeas, after having taken the city of Cius in Mylia, reduced all the Lian coast ; but, falling sick at Troas, died soon after. Artaphernes and Otanes, with the rest of the Persian generals, finding that Miletus was the centre of the Ionian confederacy, resolved to march thither with all their forces, concluding that, if they could carry that city, all the others would submit of their own accord. Pursuant to this resolution they entered Ionia, and Æolia, where the strength of the enemy lay, and took Cleomena in Ionia, and Cyma in Æolia ; which success was such a blow to the whole confederacy, that their leader, not finding himself in a condition, after that loss, to make head against the Persians, resolved to abandon Miletus, and consult his own safety, by retiring to some distant place. Accordingly he embarked with such as were willing to follow him, and set sail for the river Strymon in Thrace, where he seized on the territory of Myrcinus, which had been formerly given by Darius to Hyftiaüs ; but, as he was besieging a place situated beyond those limits, he was killed by the Thracians, and all his army cut in pieces. On his departure from Miletus, he left the government in the hands of Pythagoras, an eminent citizen ; who, being informed that Artaphernes and Otanes designed to bend all their force against Miletus, summoned a general assembly of the Ionians. In this meeting it was agreed that they should not attempt to bring an army into the field, but only to fortify and store their city with all manner of provisions for a siege, and draw all their forces together to engage the Persians at sea, thinking themselves, on account of their skill in maritime affairs, most likely to have the advantage in a naval engagement. The place appointed for their general

^b Herodot. lib. v. cap. 108—116.

rendezvous was Lada, a small island, over-against Miletus; where accordingly they met with a fleet of three hundred and fifty-three sail. At the sight of this fleet, the Persians, though double their number, avoided engaging, until by their emissaries they had secretly corrupted the greatest part of the confederates; and persuaded them to desert the common cause. When they came to battle, the Samians, Lesbians, and several others, hoisting sail, returned to their respective countries. As the remaining fleet of the confederates did not consist of above a hundred ships, they were quickly overpowered by the Persians, and almost entirely destroyed. The city of Miletus was immediately besieged both by sea and land, and soon taken by the conquerors, who razed it to the ground, the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras. All the other towns that had revolted, returned either by force or of their own accord to their duty. Those that stood out were treated as they had been threatened beforehand. The handsomest of their youths were made eunuchs, and their young women sent into Persia: their cities and temples were reduced to ashes. Such were the calamities the Ionians drew upon themselves by seconding the ambitious views of two enterprising men, Aristagoras and Hystiæus^c.

*The Ionians
defeated at
sea and re-
duced.*

*Miletus
taken by the
Persians.*

Yr. of Fl.
1851.
Ante Chr.
497.

The latter had his share in the general calamity; for, being taken by the Persians and carried to Sardis, he was immediately crucified by order of Artaphernes, who hastened his execution, without consulting Darius, lest his affection for him should incline him to pardon one, who, if he were again let loose, would not fail to create new disturbances. It afterwards appeared that Artaphernes conjecture was well grounded; for when Hystiæus's head was brought to Darius, he expressed great displeasure against the authors of his death, and caused his head to be honourably interred, as the remains of a person to whom he professed infinite obligation^d. That Greek was the most bold, restless, and enterprising genius of his age: with him all means were good and lawful that served to promote the end he had in view; for he acknowledged no other rule of his actions than his own interest and ambition, to which he readily sacrificed the good of his country, and the lives of his nearest relations.

*Hystiæus
crucified.*

^c Herodot. lib. v. cap. 122 & seq. and lib. vi. cap. 18.
^d Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 29, 30.

^d He-

*Darius's
unsuccessful
expedition
against
Greece.*

The Phœnician fleet having reduced all the islands on the coast of Asia, Darius recalled all his other generals, and appointed Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, a young Persian nobleman, who had lately married one of his daughters, to be commander in chief of all the forces quartered on the coasts of Asia, ordering him to invade Greece, and revenge on the Athenians and Eretrians, the burning of Sardis. Mardonius, having assembled his forces at the Hellespont, marched, pursuant to his orders, through Thrace into Macedonia, ordering his fleet first to reduce Thafus, and then to coast along the shore, as he marched by land, that they might be at hand to act in concert with each other. On his arrival in Macedonia, all the country, terrified at the arrival of such a mighty army, submitted; but the fleet, in doubling the cape of mount Athos, in order to gain the coasts of Macedonia, was entirely dispersed by a violent storm, which destroyed upwards of three hundred ships, and twenty thousand men. His land army met at the same time with a misfortune no less fatal; for, being encamped in a place not sufficiently secured and fortified, the Bryges, a people of Thrace, attacking him in the night, broke into the camp, slew a great number of his men, and wounded Mardonius himself, who, being disabled by these losses to prosecute his design either by sea or land, marched back into Asia, without reaping any advantage for his master, or glory to himself, in this expedition^c.

*Mardonius
defeated,
and recalled.*

Yr. of Fl.
1854.
Ante Chr.
404.

Darius, hearing of the ill success of Mardonius, and ascribing it to his want of experience, thought fit to recall him, and appoint two other generals in his room, Dares a Mede, and Artaphernes his own nephew, the son of Artaphernes the king's brother, and late governor of Sardis. But, before he would make any farther attempts on Greece, he judged it expedient first to sound the Greeks, and try how those different states stood affected to, or were averse from the Persian government. With this view, he sent heralds to all their cities to demand earth and water, in token of submission: on the arrival of these heralds, many of the Greek cities, dreading the power of the Persians, complied with their demands; as did also the inhabitants of Ægina, a small island over-against, and not far from Athens; but at Athens and Sparta they did not meet with so favourable a reception, being, in one place thrown into a deep ditch, and in the other into a well, and bid to

*Darius's
heralds
murdered
by the Athe-
nians and
Spartans.*

^c Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 43—45.

fetch earth and water from thence. The Athenians and Spartans acted thus in the heat of passion; but when they came to a cooler temper, they were ashamed of what they had done, looking upon it as a violation of the law of nations; and accordingly sent ambassadors to the king of Persia at Susa, to offer him satisfaction for the affront they had put upon his heralds. But Darius, declaring himself fully satisfied with that embassy, sent the ambassadors back to their respective countries, though those of Sparta voluntarily offered themselves as victims, to expiate the crime which their countrymen had been guilty of ^f.

Darius, being entirely bent upon the reduction of Greece, hastened the departure of his generals, Datis and Artaphernes. Their instructions were to plunder the cities of Eretria and Athens, to burn down to the ground all their houses and temples, to make all the inhabitants of both places slaves, and send them to Darius; for which purpose they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. The two generals, having appointed their fleet to meet at Samos, set sail from thence with six hundred ships, and five hundred thousand men ^s, steering their course to Naxos; which island they easily made themselves masters of, and, having burnt the chief city, and all the temples of this and the other islands in those seas, they stood directly for Eretria, a town in Eubœa, which they took after a siege of seven days, by the treachery of Euphorbus and Philagrus, two principal citizens. Having taken Eretria, pillaged the city, set fire to the temples, in revenge for those that had been burnt at Sardis, and enslaved the inhabitants, pursuant to their orders, they sailed to Attica. Hippias the son of Pisistratus, who, as we have said above, had fled to the Persians, conducted them after they had landed, to the plains of Marathon. Hence they sent heralds to Athens, acquainting the citizens with the fate of Eretria, in hopes that this news would frighten them into an immediate surrender. The Athenians had sent to Lacedæmon to desire succours against the common enemy; which the Lacedæmonians granted: but they could not set out till some days after, on account of an ancient and superstitious custom, which obtained at Sparta, and did not allow them to begin a march before the full moon. Not one of their allies offered to assist them, such a terror had the Persian army struck into the

Naxos taken by the Persians.

Yr. of Fl.
1858.
Ante Chr.
490.

Eretria betrayed to the Persians.

^f Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 46—49. & lib. vii. cap. 133.
^s Plutarch. in Moral. p. 829.

cities of Greece. The inhabitants of Platæa alone furnished them with a thousand men. In this extremity the Athenians were obliged to arm their slaves, contrary to their practice on all other occasions^b.

Miltiades' brave resolution.

The Persian army, commanded by Datis, consisted of one hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; that of the Athenians, amounted, in the whole, but to ten thousand men. It was commanded by ten generals, one of which was Miltiades, whom we shall have occasion to mention often in the history of Greece. These ten generals were to have the command of the army, each for one day in his turn. When the army was assembled, a dispute arose among them, whether they should venture an engagement in the field, or only fortify and defend the city. They were all for the latter opinion, except Miltiades, who declared that the only way to raise the courage of their own troops, and strike terror into the enemy, was to advance boldly and attack them with intrepidity. Aristides, convinced by the speech of Miltiades, embraced his opinion, and brought over to it some of the other commanders. Callimachus likewise, who had been very sanguine at first against such a rash enterprise, at length agreed with Miltiades; and a resolution was taken to engage the enemy in the open field. All the commanders, who were for venturing a battle, when their turn came to command the army, yielded that honour to Miltiades, all sentiments of jealousy giving way to the public good; but, though he accepted the command, he would not hazard an engagement before his own day. As soon as that came, he endeavoured, by the advantage of the ground, to make up what he wanted in strength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy might not surround him and fall upon his rear. He covered his flanks with large trees, which he caused to be cut down for that purpose, and in order to render the Persian cavalry useless. The Athenian forces were so drawn up, that they were equal in front to the Persians; but, because they had not a sufficient number of men in the centre, that part was extremely weak, the main strength of the army consisting in the wings. All things being thus disposed, and the sacrifice, according to the custom of the Greeks, performed, Miltiades, without waiting the motions of the Persians, ordered the signal for the battle to be given;

The battle of Marathon.

^b Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 94---99.

when

when the Athenians fell upon the enemy with such courage and resolution, as can hardly be expressed. The Persians, seeing the Athenians advance, imputed their conduct to folly and despair, as they were not only few in number, but entirely destitute of horse, and, without stirring, prepared themselves to receive the enemy. After a long and obstinate fight, the Persians and Sacæ broke the centre of the Athenians, having made their greatest efforts against that part. The centre was commanded by Aristides and Themistocles, who, with great intrepidity, made head against the whole Persian army, till, being born down by numbers, and quite overpowered, they were obliged to give ground. But the Athenians and Platæans, who were in the two wings, having defeated those of the enemy, came up to the relief of their centre, just as they were betaking themselves to a precipitate flight, after having maintained a running-fight for some hours. At their arrival the scale was quickly turned; for, attacking the enemy in flank, they soon put them in disorder, and obliged them, with great slaughter, to fly to their fleet, whither they pursued them, took seven of their ships, and burnt a great many more¹. In this action, several Athenians of distinction were slain, and amongst others, Callimachus and Stafileus, two of the chief commanders, with only two hundred private men; whereas the Persians left, even according to Herodotus, who makes it much less than any other author, above six thousand dead on the field of battle; besides a great many more who were killed in the flight; burnt in their ships, and drowned in the sea, as they attempted to save themselves on board their vessels (I). Hippias was

*Persians
defeated by
the Athe-
nians,*

*Hippia
slain.*

¹ Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 101---117. Justin. lib. ii. cap. 9. Val. Max. lib. v. cap. 3. Plutarch. in Parall. sub init. Æmil. Prob. in Miltiad.

(I) Justin tells us, that the Persians lost, on this very remarkable occasion, by the sword, and by shipwreck, two hundred thousand men; on the other hand, Herodotus, who flourished very near those times, makes the loss of the Persians, if no error has crept into his copy, to have amounted only to six thousand three hundred;

and that of the Athenians to one hundred and ninety-two. The whole Persian army, according to Valerius Maximus, consisted of three hundred thousand men. Plutarch seems to have been of the same opinion. Justin and Orosius say, that they were in all six hundred thousand men. Emilius Probus tells us, that they were

killed in the battle, that ungrateful citizen, who, in order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father Pisistratus, had put himself at the head of those who were come with a design to reduce to ashes that city to which he owed his birth ^k. Immediately after the battle, an Athenian soldier, stained all over with blood, hastened to Athens, to acquaint his fellow-citizens with the good success of their army at Marathon. When he arrived at the public palace, where the magistrates were assembled, he was so spent, that, having uttered these words, "Rejoice, rejoice, the victory is ours!" he fell down dead at their feet ^l. The Persians were so sure of the victory, that they had brought marble along with them to Marathon, in order to erect a trophy. This marble the Athenians seized, and caused a statue to be formed of it, by the famous Phidias, in honour of the goddess Nemesis, whose province it was to punish unjust actions ^m.

Their design against Athens frustrated.

After this defeat, the Persian fleet, instead of sailing by the islands, in order to return to Asia, doubled the Cape of Sunium, with a design to surprise Athens before the return of the army: but, the Athenian troops being apprized of their design, decamped from the plains of Marathon, and marched with such expedition, that they

^k Justin. lib. ii. cap. 9.
p. 347.

^m Pausan. lib. i. p. 63.

^l Plutarch. de Glor. Athen.

one hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Of the Athenians there were ten thousand, and a thousand Plataeans, say Justin and Orosius; but Probus assures us, that the Athenians, with their auxiliaries, were in all but one thousand. This ever-memorable victory was gained, if we believe Plutarch, upon the sixth day of Boedomion, the third month in the Attic calendar, after the summer solstice, Phanippus being at that time prætor at Athens; that is, in the third year of the seventy-second Olympiad, four years before the death of Darius, as we read in Severus Sulpitius,

and ten years before Xerxes passed over into Greece, as Thucydides informs us. Most authors tell us, that Hippas was slain in this battle; but Suidas says, that he escaped, and died afterwards in the isle of Lemnos. Themistocles, who became afterwards so famous, on this occasion first entered the school of war. We cannot omit, in this place, the glorious behaviour of one Cegnirus, an Athenian soldier, who, having first his right and then his left hand cut off, while he was endeavouring to prevent one of the enemies ships from putting off, took hold of it at last with his teeth.

arrived

arrived at Athens before the enemies fleet; and by that expedition, disappointed their measures ^a.

Datis and Artaphernes arriving in Asia, that they might seem to have reaped some advantage from this expedition, sent the Eretrian captives to Susa. Darius had expressed great indignation against the Eretrians before the reduction of their city, and charged them with the guilt of beginning the war; but seeing they were now his prisoners, and entirely in his power, he treated him with more lenity than was expected, and gave them a village in the country of Cissia, to inhabit, which was but a day's journey from Susa ^b. Here Apollonius Tyaneus ^c found their descendents, a great many ages after.

As soon as the day of the full moon was over, the Lacedæmonians began their march with two thousand men, and arrived in three days on the confines of Attica, having marched in so short a time one thousand two hundred stadia ^d; such was their eagerness to be present at the battle: but a silly and ridiculous superstition prevented their having a share in the most glorious action recorded in history; for the battle was fought the day before they arrived: however, they proceeded to Marathon, where they found the field covered with dead bodies; and, having congratulated the Athenians on their success, they returned home ^e.

Darius, upon the news of the unsuccessful return of his army, was so far from being discouraged by such a disaster, that he added the defeat at Marathon to the burning of Sardis, as a new motive, spurring him on to pursue the war with redoubled vigour. He therefore resolved to head the army in person; and issued orders to all his subjects, in the several provinces of the empire, to attend him in this expedition: but, after he had spent three years in making the necessary preparations, a new war broke out, occasioned by the revolt of Egypt. This gave him no small uneasiness: however, as he was wholly bent on his expedition against Greece, he resolved not to lay that aside, but, at the same time, to send part of his forces to reduce Egypt, and with the rest, to march in person against his old enemies the Greeks. But, when he had prepared all things for these two expeditions, a great contest arose between his sons, concerning the succession; for, ac-

Darius resolves to carry on the war in person.

Egypt revolts against Darius.

The contest of his two sons about the succession.

^a Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 116.

^b Idem ibid. cap. 119.

^c Philostrat. in Vita Apollonii, lib. i. cap. 117.

^d Isocr. in Paneg. p. 113.

^e Ibid. p. 113.

cording to an ancient custom among the Persians, the king was obliged, before he set out on any expedition, to name his successor: a custom wisely established, to prevent the many inconveniencies that attend an unsettled succession. Darius thought himself the more obliged to comply with this custom, as he was already advanced in years, and two of his sons seemed to have a just claim to the crown, upon his demise. He had three sons by the daughter of Gobryas, his first wife, all born before he came to the crown; and four more by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, all born after his accession to the throne: of the first, Artabazanes was the eldest; of the latter, Xerxes; and these two were competitors for the succession. Artabazanes, or, as Justin calls him, Artamenes, urged, that he was the eldest son; and therefore, according to the custom of all nations, ought to be preferred in the succession to the younger. On the other hand, Xerxes alleged, that he was the son of Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, who had founded the Persian monarchy; and claimed the kingdom in right of his mother; it being more agreeable to justice, said he, that the crown of Cyrus should devolve upon a descendent of Cyrus, than upon one who was not. Darius had not yet declared in favour of either, when Damaratus, king of Sparta, being expelled by his subjects, arrived at Susa; and hearing of this dispute, secretly suggested to Xerxes another argument to support his pretensions; namely, that he was born after his father was invested with the royal dignity; whereas Artabazanes was only the son of Darius, a private man; to him therefore the crown belonged, as the king's eldest son, and not to Artabazanes the eldest son of Darius. He farther supported his argument by the example of the Lacedæmonians, who excluded from the crown, the children that were born before their father's accession, if they had any to succeed, born after their advancement to the throne. These reasons appeared so just to Darius, that he declared Xerxes heir apparent to the crown.

*Xerxes
named to it.*

Darius dies.

The succession being thus settled, and all things ready both for the Egyptian and Grecian expedition, Darius died in the second year of the revolt of Egypt, after having reigned thirty-six years*. This prince was endowed with many excellent qualities: his wisdom, clemency, and justice are greatly commended by the ancients. He had

* Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 4. Justin. lib. ii. cap. 40. Plutarch. in Artax. & Apophthegm.

the honour to have his name recorded in Holy Writ^t, as a favourer of God's people, a restorer of the temple, and a promoter of the true worship at Jerusalem. His kindness towards the Israelites was rewarded with a numerous issue, a long reign, and great prosperity; for though the Scythian and Grecian expeditions proved unsuccessful, yet he was fortunate in all his other undertakings, having not only restored, and entirely settled the empire of Cyrus, which had been very much shaken by the impolitic government of Cambyfes, and usurpation of Smerdis, but also added many great and rich provinces to that prince's conquests; namely, India, Thrace, Macedonia, and the isles of the Ionian sea.

Xerxes succeeding his father, employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of Egypt, which his father had begun. He confirmed, upon his first accession to the crown, all the privileges granted by his father to the Jews, and particularly that which assigned them the tribute of Samaria, for furnishing them victims to be offered in the temple^u.

In the second year of his reign he marched against the Egyptians, and, having reduced the rebels, and brought the country to a worse condition of slavery than what they had felt under his predecessors, he appointed his brother Achæmenes governor of that province, and returned to Susa. Elated with this success against the Egyptians, he determined to invade Greece; but before he engaged in an enterprize of that importance, he thought fit to assemble his council, and take the advice of the most illustrious persons of his court. When they were assembled, he laid before them the design he had of invading Greece, and acquainted them with the motives that prompted him to that expedition. Mardonius, the same person who had been so unsuccessful in the reign of Darius, hoping that the command of the army would be bestowed upon him, not only approved of the king's determination, but extolled him above all the kings that had preceded him, and endeavoured to set forth the indispensable necessity they all lay under of revenging the dishonour done the Persian name at Sardis and Marathon. The rest of the council perceiving that the flattering discourse of Mardonius pleased the king, durst not venture to contradict him, but all kept silence for some time. At last Artabanus, the king's uncle, a prince venerable both for his age and prudence,

Yr. of Fl.
1863.
Ante Chr.
485.

*Xerxes
succeeds
his father.*

*Reduces
Egypt.*

*Declares
his design
of invading
Greece.*

^t Ezra iv. & pass. Haggai & Zechar. pass.
lib. xi. cap. v.

^u Jos:ph. Antiq.

Artabanus's noble speech against it.

addressing Xerxes, used all his endeavours to divert him from his present resolution; and, at the same time, reproached Mardonius with want of sincerity, and shewed how much he was to blame for desiring rashly to engage the nation in a war, which nothing but his own ambitious and self-interested views could tempt him to advise. He concluded in these words: "If a war be resolved upon, let the king remain in Persia, and our children be deposited in his hands; then go on with your expedition, attended by the best forces you can chuse, and in what numbers you think fit. If the issue be favourable, I am willing to forfeit my own life, and the lives of my children; but if, on the contrary, the event be such as I have foretold, then let your children suffer death, and you also, if ever you return." Artabanus expressed his sentiments in very respectful and inoffensive terms; but nevertheless Xerxes was extremely chagrined, and replied with indignation, that if Artabanus were not his uncle, he should suffer that moment the due punishment for such an audacious declaration; and commanded him to stay at home among the women, whom he too much resembled, while he, his sovereign, would march, at the head of his troops, where his duty and glory called him. However, when the first emotion of his anger was past, he owned that he had been to blame for treating his uncle with such harsh language; and was not ashamed to repair his fault, by openly confessing, that the heat of his youth, and want of experience, had made him trespass against the regard that was due to a prince so worthy of respect as Artabanus*. At the same time he declared, that he was ready to follow his advice, and lay aside the design of invading Greece, notwithstanding a phantom had appeared to him the night before in his sleep, and warmly exhorted him to undertake the war. All the Persians, who composed the council, were overjoyed to hear the king speak in that manner; and prostrating themselves before him, vied with each other in extolling the prudence of his conduct. But he did not long continue in that mind; nay, Artabanus himself, the only man who had openly disapproved the expedition, whether frightened by a dream, or dreading the king's displeasure, became a most sanguine and zealous promoter of the war†.

Becomes a zealous promoter of it.

Xerxes being now resolved to attack Greece, that he might omit nothing that could contribute to the success of his undertaking, entered into an alliance with the Car-

* Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 8—12.

† Ibid. cap. 17, 18, & seqq. thaginians,

thaginians, who were, at that time, the most powerful people of the West, whereby it was agreed, that while the Persians invaded Greece, the Carthaginians should fall upon the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy, that thereby they might be diverted from assisting each other. The Carthaginians appointed Hamilcar their general, who not only assembled what forces he could raise in Africa, but, with the money sent him by Xerxes, hired a great many mercenaries in Spain, Gaul, and Italy; so that his army consisted of three hundred thousand men, besides a proportionable number of ships for transporting his forces, and the necessary provisions*. Thus Xerxes set out from Susa, to enter upon this war, in the fifth year of his reign, after having spent three years in making vast preparations throughout all the provinces of his extensive empire. From Susa he marched to Sardis, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all his land forces, while his navy advanced along the coasts of Asia Minor towards the Hellespont.

The Carthaginians ally with Xerxes.

Two works Xerxes commanded to be performed before he came to the sea-side; one was a passage to be cut through Mount Athos. This mountain reaches a great way into the sea, in the form of a peninsula, and is joined to the land by an isthmus twelve furlongs over. The sea, in this place, is very tempestuous, and the Persian fleet had formerly suffered shipwreck in doubling this promontory. To prevent the like disaster, Xerxes caused a passage to be cut through the mountain, broad enough to let two galleys with three banks of oars each, pass in front. By these means he severed from the continent, the cities of Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyfus, and Cleone. Our author observes, that Xerxes undertook this enterprize only out of ostentation, and to perpetuate the memory of his name, since he might, with far less trouble, have caused his fleet to be conveyed over the isthmus, as was the practice in those days* (K).

The mountain Athos cut through.

He

* Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 1.

* Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 22—24.

(K) This prince, believing that the very elements were under his command, wrote to Mount Athos in the following terms: "Athos, thou proud and aspiring mountain, that liftest up thy head to the very skies, I advise thee not to be so audacious as to put rocks and stones in the way of my workmen. If thou makest that opposition, I will cut thee entirely down, and throw thee headlong into the sea." Our modern travellers tell us that they can perceive no traces of this

*A bridge
built over
the Helles-
pont;*

*and de-
stroyed.*

*Xerxes'
pride,
madness,
and cruelty.*

*Views his
numerous
army and
fleet, and
weeps
over it,*

He likewise commanded a bridge of boats to be laid over the Hellespont, for the passage of his troops from Asia into Europe. The sea, which separates Sestos from Abydus, where the bridge was built, is seven furlongs over. The work was carried on with great expedition by the Phœnicians and Egyptians, who had no sooner finished it, but a violent storm arising, broke it in pieces, and dispersed, or dashed against the shore, the vessels of which it was composed; which disaster, when Xerxes heard, he fell into such a violent transport of anger, that he commanded three hundred stripes to be inflicted on the sea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it, enjoining those who were entrusted with the execution of his orders, to pronounce these words: "Thou salt and bitter element, thy master has condemned thee to this punishment for offending him without cause; and is resolved to pass over thee, in spite of thy billows and insolent resistance." The extravagant folly and madness of this prince did not stop here; he commanded the heads of those who had the direction of the work, to be struck off^b.

In their room he appointed more experienced architects to build two other bridges; one for the army, the other for the beasts of burden and the baggage. When the whole work was completed, and the vessels which formed the bridges secure against the violence of the winds, and current of the water, Xerxes departed from Sardis, where he had wintered, and directed his march to Abydus. When he arrived at that city, he desired to see all his forces together; and to that end, ascending a stately edifice of white stone, which the Abydenians had built, on purpose to receive him in a manner suitable to his greatness, he had a free prospect to the coast, seeing, at one view, both his fleet and land forces. The sea was covered with his ships, and the large plains of Abydus with his troops, quite down to the shore. While he was surveying the vast extent of his power, and deeming himself the most happy of mortals, his joy being all on a sudden turned into grief, he burst out into a flood of tears; which Artabanus perceiving, asked him what had made him, in a few moments, pass from an excess of joy to so great grief. The king replied, that, considering the short-

^b Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 34—36.

this great work; and most of "Perforatus Athos, & quicquid
them are of Juvenal's opinion, Græcia mendax
expressed in these words; Audet in historia."

ncfs

ness of human life, he could not refrain from shedding tears; for, "of all these numbers of men, not one (said he) will be alive a hundred years hence." Artabanus, who neglected no opportunity of instilling into the young prince's mind sentiments of kindness towards his people, finding him touched with a sense of tenderness and humanity, endeavoured to make him sensible of the obligation that is incumbent upon princes, to alleviate the sorrows, and sweeten the bitterness which the lives of their subjects are liable to, since it is not in their power to prolong them. In the same conversation, Xerxes asked his uncle whether, if he had not seen the vision, which made him change his mind, he would still persist in the same opinion, and dissuade him from making war upon Greece. Artabanus sincerely owned, that he still had his fears, and was very uneasy concerning two things, the sea and the land; the sea, because there were no ports capable of receiving and sheltering such a fleet, if a storm should arise; the land, because no country could maintain so numerous an army. The king was very sensible of the strength of his reasoning; but as it was now too late to recede, he made answer, "that in great enterprizes, men ought not to enter into so nice a discussion of all the inconveniences that may attend them; that bold and daring undertakings, though subject to many evils and dangers, are preferable to inaction, however safe; that great successes are no otherwise to be obtained than by venturing boldly; and that, if his predecessors had observed such scrupulous and timorous rules of politics, the Persian empire would never have attained to so high a degree of glory and grandeur."

Artabanus' generous lessons to him.

All things being now in readiness, and a day appointed for passing over the army, as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, all sorts of perfumes were burnt upon the bridge, and the way strewn with myrtle. At the same time, Xerxes, pouring a libation into the sea out of a golden cup, and addressing the sun, implored the assistance of that deity, begging that he might meet with no impediment so great as to hinder him from carrying his conquering arms to the utmost limits of Europe. This prayer being preferred, he threw the cup into the Hellespont, with a golden bowl and a Persian scimiter; and the foot and horse began to pass over that bridge, which was next to the Euxine, while the carriages and beasts

Yr. of Fl.
1368.
Ante Chr.
480..

Marches over the Hellespont.

The number of his land and sea forces.

of burden passed over the other, which was placed next the Ægean Sea. The bridges were boarded and covered over with earth, having rails on each side, that the horses and cattle might not be frightened at the sight of the sea. The army spent seven days and seven nights in passing over, though they marched day and night without intermission. At the same time, the fleet advanced to the coasts of Europe. After the whole army was passed, Xerxes advanced with his land forces through the Thracian Chersonesus to Doriscus, a city at the mouth of the river Hebrus, in Thrace: but the fleet steered a quite different course, standing to the westward for the Promontory of Sarpedon, where they were commanded to attend farther orders. Xerxes having encamped in the large plains of Doriscus, and judging them convenient for receiving and numbering his troops, dispatched orders to his admirals, to bring the fleet to the adjacent shore, that he might take an account both of his sea and land forces. His land army, upon the muster, was found to consist of one million and seven hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse; which, together with twenty thousand men, that conducted the camels, and took care of the baggage, amounted to one million, eight hundred thousand. His fleet consisted of twelve hundred and seven large ships, and three thousand gallies and transports; on board all these vessels there were found to be five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men^d. So that the whole number of sea and land forces, which Xerxes led out of Asia to invade Greece, amounted to two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. Our author tells us, that on his passing the Hellespont, to enter Europe, an inhabitant of that country cried out: "O Jupiter, why art thou come to destroy Greece, in the shape of a Persian, and under the name of Xerxes, with all mankind following thee; whereas thy own power is sufficient to do this, without their assistance?" After Xerxes had entered Europe, the nations on this side the Hellespont, that submitted to him, added to his land-forces three hundred thousand more, and two hundred and twenty ships to his fleet, on board of which were twenty-four thousand men. The whole number of his forces, when he arrived at Thermopylæ, was two millions six hundred and forty-one thousand six hundred and ten men, without including servants, cu-

^d Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 60, 72, 87.

nuchs, women, sutlers, and other people of that sort, who were computed to equal the number of the forces; so that the whole multitude of persons that followed Xerxes in this expedition, amounted to five millions two hundred and eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty*. Among these millions of men, there was not one that could vie with Xerxes in comeliness or stature, or that seemed more worthy of that great empire†. But this is a poor commendation, when unaccompanied with other virtues. Accordingly Justin, after he has mentioned the number of his troops, emphatically concludes; “but this vast body wanted a head.” Besides the subordinate generals of each nation, who commanded the troops of their respective countries, the whole army was under the command of six Persian generals; viz. Mar-
 donius, the son of Gobryas; Triatacchmes, the son of Artabanus; Smerdones, the son of Otanes (the two latter were cousins to Xerxes); Masistes, the son of Darius by Atoffa; Gergys, the son of Ariazus; and Megabyfus, the son of the celebrated Zopyrus. The ten thousand Persians, who were called the Immortal Band, obeyed no other commander but Hydarnes. The fleet was commanded by four Persian admirals; and the cavalry had also their particular generals and commanders.

His generals.

Xerxes having thus numbered his sea and land forces at Doriscus, marched from thence through Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly, towards Attica, ordering his fleet to follow him along the coast, and to regulate their motions according to those of the army. Wherever he came, he found provisions prepared beforehand, pursuant to the orders he had sent; and each city was obliged to entertain him. Hence a citizen of Abdera, after his departure, observed, that his countrymen might thank the gods for Xerxes’ moderation, in being satisfied with one meal a day‡.

In the mean time, Lacedæmon and Athens, the two most powerful cities of Greece, against which Xerxes was most exasperated, having had intelligence of the enemies preparations and motions, sent ambassadors to Argos, Sicily, Corcyra, and Crete, to desire succours, and conclude a league against the common enemy. The people of Argos offered a very considerable number of troops,

Athenians and Spartans prepare against him.

* Herodot. ubi supra.

† Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 187.

‡ Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 120.

on condition they should have an equal share with the Lacedæmonians in the command. The latter consented, that the king of Argos should have the same authority as either of the kings of Sparta; but this offer did not satisfy the Argians, who thereupon ordered the ambassadors to depart the territories of Argos before sun-set. From Argos they proceeded to Sicily, where Gelo, the most powerful prince in all the Greek colonies, offered to assist them with a very numerous army, and a mighty fleet, provided they would appoint him commander in chief of all their forces both by sea and land. This proposal was rejected by the Athenian ambassadors, who told him, that they did not want a general, but an army; and, without pressing him any farther, departed. The inhabitants of Corcyra, now Corfu, immediately put to sea with a fleet of sixty ships, but advanced no farther than the coasts of Laconia, where they waited the issue of an engagement, desigining to side afterwards with the conquerors. The people of Crete, having consulted the oracle, to know what resolution they should take on this occasion, absolutely refused to enter into the league. Thus were the Lacedæmonians and Athenians abandoned by all their countrymen, except the Thespians and Platæans, who sent small bodies to their assistance. The first step they took in so critical a conjuncture, was to put an end to all intestine divisions and discords; and accordingly a peace was concluded between the Athenians and the people of Egina, who were actually at war with each other. In the next place they appointed a general, the Athenians choosing Themistocles, and the Spartans conferring the supreme command of their forces upon Leonidas, one of their kings. The only thing that now remained, was to determine in what place they should meet the Persians, in order to dispute their entrance into Greece. After various proposals and disputes, it was resolved, that they should send a body of four thousand men to Thermopylæ, which is a narrow pass, twenty-five feet broad, between the mountains that divide Thessaly from Greece, and the only way through which the Persians could enter Achaia, and advance by land to Athens. The command of this small body was given to Leonidas, a prince of extraordinary courage, who accordingly marched with all possible expedition to his post, determined either to stop the innumerable army of Xerxes with that handful of men, or die in the attempt. Such was also the resolution

*Forfaken
by all the
other
Greeks.*

*Thermopy-
læ defend-
ed by Leo-
nidas.*

tion of the three hundred Spartans, who attended him, and had been all chosen by himself ^h.

In the mean time Xerxes advancing near the Streights, was strangely surprised to find, that the Greeks were resolved to dispute his passage; for he had always flattered himself, that on his approach, they would betake themselves to flight, and not attempt to oppose his innumerable forces with so small a body, their whole army consisting of but eleven thousand two hundred men, and of these scarce four thousand were employed to defend the pass. He sent out a scout on horseback to view their numbers, and discover how they were encamped. This officer brought back word, that the Lacedæmonians were some performing their military exercises, and others adjusting their hair; for their custom was (as Damaratus (L), who was then in the Persian camp informed the king) to comb and adjust their hair, when they were determined to expose their lives to the greatest dangers. However Xerxes, entertaining still some hopes of their flight, waited four days, without undertaking any thing, on purpose to give them time to retreat. During this interval, he used his utmost endeavours to gain and corrupt Leonidas, promising to make him master of all Greece, if he would come over to his party. His offers being rejected by that public-spirited prince with contempt and indignation, he ordered him, by an herald to deliver up his arms. Leonidas, in a style, and with a spirit, truly laconic, answered in a few words, "Come thyself and take them ⁱ." Xerxes, enraged at this reply, commanded

*His noble
answer to
Xerxes.*

^h Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 148—163.
Apoph. p. 225.

ⁱ Plutarch in Lacon.

(L) Damaratus was one of the two kings of Sparta, who, being banished by the adverse party, had sought refuge at the Persian court, where he was entertained with the greatest marks of honour and distinction. As the courtiers were one day expressing their surprise, that a king should suffer himself to be banished, Damaratus told them, that at Sparta the laws were more powerful than the king. This prince

was in great esteem at the Persian court; but neither the injustice of the Spartan citizens, nor the kind treatment of the Persian king could make him forget his country. He no sooner knew that Xerxes designed to invade Greece, than he secretly acquainted the Greeks with his resolution; and on all occasions spoke his sentiments with a noble freedom and dignity (1).

(1) Plutarch. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 220.

The Persians repulsed with great loss at Thermopylae.

Epialtes rescues Xerxes out of his dangerous situation.

the Medes and Cissians to go and bring them in fetters. The Medes, not able to stand the shock of the Greeks, soon betook themselves to flight, and shewed, as our author observes, that Xerxes had many men, but few soldiers. In their room, Hydarnes was ordered to advance with that body, which was called Immortal, and consisted of ten thousand chosen men; but when they came to close with the Greeks, they succeeded no better than the Medes and Cissians, being obliged to retire with great loss. Next day the Persians, reflecting on the small number of their enemies, and supposing so many of them to be wounded, that they could not possibly maintain a second fight, resolved to make another attempt; but could not by any efforts make the Greeks give way: on the contrary, they were themselves put to a shameful flight. The valour of the Greeks exerted itself, on this occasion, in such an extraordinary manner, that Xerxes is said to have leaped three times from his throne, apprehending the entire destruction of his army^k.

Having lost all hopes of forcing his way through troops that were determined to conquer, or die, he was extremely perplexed and doubtful what measures he should take in this posture of affairs, when one Epialtes, the son of Eurydemus, in expectation of a great reward, came to him, and discovered a secret passage to the top of the hill, which overlooked and commanded the Spartan forces. The king immediately ordered Hydarnes thither, with his select body of ten thousand Persians; who, marching all night, at break of day arrived and possessed themselves of that advantageous post. The Phocæans, who defended this pass, being overpowered by the enemy's numbers, retired with precipitation to the very top of the mountain, prepared to die gallantly. But, Hydarnes, neglecting to pursue them, marched down the mountain with all possible expedition, in order to attack those who defended the straits in the rear. Leonidas, being now apprised that it was impossible to withstand the enemy, obliged the rest of his allies to retire; but staid himself with the Thespians, Thebans, and three hundred Lacedæmonians, all resolved to die with their leader, who, being told by the oracle, that either Sparta should be destroyed, or the king lose his life, determined, without the least hesitation, to sacrifice himself for his country. The Thebans, indeed,

^k Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 211, 212. Diod. Sicul. p. 6. Ctesias in Periclis, cap. 23.

remained

remained against their inclination, being detained by Leonidas as hostages; for they were suspected to favour the Persians. The Thebians, with their leader Demophilus, could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to abandon Leonidas, and the Spartans. The augur Megistias, who had foretold the event of this enterprize, being pressed by Leonidas to retire, sent home his only son, but remained himself, and died by Leonidas. Those who staid did not indulge themselves with any hopes of conquering, or escaping, but looked upon Thermopylæ as their grave; and when Leonidas, exhorting them to take some nourishment, said, that they should all sup together with Pluto, with one accord set up a shout of joy, as if they had been invited to a banquet¹.

Xerxes, after having poured out a libation at the rising of the sun, began to move, with the whole body of his army, as he had been advised by Epialtes. Upon their approach, Leonidas advanced to the broadest part of the passage, and fell upon the enemy with such undaunted courage and resolution, that the Persian officers were obliged to stand behind the divisions they commanded, in order to prevent the flight of their men, who, not being able to stand so violent a shock, would, without that precaution, have immediately turned their backs. Great numbers of the enemy, falling into the sea, were drowned; others were trampled under foot by their own men, and a great many killed by the Greeks; who, knowing that they could not avoid death upon the arrival of those who were advancing to fall upon their rear, exerted their utmost efforts. In this action fell the brave Leonidas; when Abrocomes, and Hyperanthus, two of the brothers of Xerxes, advanced, with great resolution, to seize his body, and carry it in triumph to Xerxes. But the Lacedæmonians, more eager to defend it than their own lives, repulsed the enemy four times, killed both the brothers of Xerxes, with many other commanders of distinction, and rescued the body of their beloved general out of the enemy's hands. But in the mean time, the army that was led by the treacherous Epialtes, advancing to attack their rear, they retired to the narrowest part of the pass, and drawing all together, except the Thebans, posted themselves on a rising ground. In this place they made head against the Persians, who poured in upon them on all

*Leonidas's
valour;*

and death.

*The Lacedæmonians
defend his
body with
singular
valour.*

¹ Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 213—225, & seq. Diodor. Sicul. p. 7. Ctesias, ubi supra, cap. 24.

Overpowered and vanquished.

Dieneces' signal bravery.

Xerxes' indignity to the body of Leonidas.

sides, till at length, not vanquished, but oppressed and overwhelmed by numbers, they all fell, except one who escaped to Sparta, where he was treated as a coward, and traitor to his country, every one avoiding his company, and giving him the ignominious nick-name of Aristodemus the Run-away (M); but not long after, he made a glorious reparation of his fault in the battle of Platæa, where he distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. Those who signalized themselves most among the Lacedæmonians were Alpheus and Maron, both sons of Orisiphantus; among the Thespians, Dithyrambus, but above all, Leonidas and Dieneces. Dieneces was a Spartan, and distinguished himself on this occasion above all his countrymen, the king excepted. When a Trachinian told him, before the battle, that the army of the Barbarians was so numerous, that, with one flight of their arrows, they would hide the sun, he answered, without betraying the least fear, that he was glad to hear it, because he liked to fight in the shade. Xerxes, enraged at Leonidas to the last degree for daring to oppose him, caused his head to be struck off, and his body to be put upon a cross; which barbarous treatment redounded more to his own ignominy, than to the dishonour of that great heroⁿ. Some time after, a magnificent monument was erected at Thermopylæ, in honour of those brave defenders of Greece, with two inscriptions; one general, and relating to all those who died on this occasion, importing that the Greeks of Peloponnesus, to the number only of four thou-

ⁿ Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 238.

(M) As for the Thebans and their general Leontides, they were obliged for some time to fight against the Persians in conjunction with the other Greeks. But they no sooner saw the Persians descending the hill to attack them in the rear, than they abandoned the rest of their allies, and approaching the Persians with their arms stretched out, told them, that they had been the first among the Greeks to present

them with earth and water, and that they were come to Thermopylæ against their will, and no ways guilty of the loss they had sustained. Thus the Thebans saved their lives, though the enemies killed many of them as they advanced to surrender themselves. Many others were, by command of Xerxes, branded with the royal mark, as slaves, and among these was Leontides, their general (3).

(3) Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 229—233.

land,

land, made head against the Persian army, consisting of three millions: the other related to the Spartans in particular, and was composed by the poet Simonides, to this purport: "Go, passenger, and acquaint the Spartans, that we died here in obedience to their just commands." At these tombs a funeral oration was yearly pronounced in honour of the dead heroes, and public games were performed with great solemnity, wherein none but the Lacedæmonians and Thespians had any share, to shew that they alone were concerned in the glorious defence of Thermopylæ.

Xerxes, on this occasion, lost twenty thousand men; and being sensible that so great a loss was capable of alarming and discouraging his friends, he caused all those that were killed, except a thousand, whose bodies he left in the field, to be privately buried; and then proceeded in his march through Bœotia to Attica, where he arrived four months after he had passed the Hellespont.

The very same day on which happened the glorious action at Thermopylæ, the two fleets engaged at Artemisium, a promontory of Eubœa. That of the Greeks consisted of two hundred and seventy-one sail; but the Persian fleet was far more numerous, though they had lost, a few days before, in a violent storm, which continued four days, above four hundred ships. Notwithstanding this loss, they sent two hundred sail round the island of Eubœa, to encompass the Grecian fleet, that none of their ships might escape. The Greeks having intelligence of this design, set sail in the night, in order to attack them by day-break. But having missed this Squadron, they advanced to Aphetæ, where the whole Persian fleet lay; and, after several encounters, in which the Athenians gained considerable advantages, they came to a general engagement, which was very obstinate, and the success pretty equal: however, the Greeks found it necessary, their ships having suffered a great deal, to retire to some safer place to refit; and accordingly steered their course to the Straights of Salamis, a small island over against Attica. Though the engagement at Artemisium did not bring matters to an absolute decision, yet it contributed greatly to encourage the Athenians, who were now convinced, that the enemies, notwithstanding their great number, were not invincible.

*The same day
sea-fight of
Artemisium.*

• Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 238, & seq.
cap. 1—18.

• Ibid. lib. viii.

Athens deserted by the citizens.

As Xerxes entered Attica, the Athenians, not being in a condition to make head against so powerful an army, were prevailed upon by Themistocles to put all the citizens on board the fleet, to secure their wives and children in Salamis, Ægina, and Trœzene, and to abandon the city of Athens, which they were no ways in a condition to defend. The Persians arriving in the neighbourhood of Athens, wasted the whole country with fire and sword. A detachment was sent to plunder the temple of Apollo at Delphos, which was exceeding rich, by offerings and donatives sent thither from all parts of the East. The main body of the army arriving at Athens, found it deserted by all its inhabitants, except a small number of citizens, who literally interpreting Apollo's oracle, that "Athens should be saved by wooden walls," had fortified that place with boards and palisadoes. They defended themselves with incredible courage and resolution; and, at last, as they would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatever, were all cut in pieces. Xerxes burnt the city, and all its temples to the ground; and immediately dispatched a messenger to Susa, with an account of his success to his uncle Artabanus, in whose hands he had left the government in his absence ^P.

Taken and burnt by the Persians.

The Grecian fleet at Salamis.

In the mean time the Grecian fleet being reinforced by a great many ships, which joined them from several parts of Greece, to the number of three hundred sail, Eurybiades, commander in chief of all the naval forces, summoned a council, in order to consult about the measures that seemed most proper in the present state of affairs. In this council a great debate arose among the commanders; some, and among these Eurybiades, were for retiring to the Isthmus of Corinth, that they might be nearer the army which guarded that pass, under the command of Cleombrotus, the brother of Leonidas. Others, at the head of whom was Themistocles, who commanded the Athenian fleet, were for remaining at Salamis, the most advantageous place they could chuse, to engage the numerous fleet of the enemies: for in the Streights of Salamis the Persians could not, by reason of the narrowness of the sea, extend their line beyond that of the Greeks, and, consequently, would be obliged to fight upon equal terms, without reaping any advantage from their numbers. After many warm disputes, Eurybiades, with all the other commanders, came over to the opinion of Themistocles, fear-

^P Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 51---53.

ing that the Athenians, whose ships made up above one half of the fleet, would separate from the allies, if they abandoned that post, as Themistocles in his speech had insinuated. It was therefore unanimously resolved, that, in the Streights of Salamis, they should wait for the Persian fleet, and there engage¹.

A council of war was likewise held on the side of the Persians, in order to determine whether they should hazard an engagement or not. All the commanders were for engaging, because they knew this advice to be most agreeable to the king's inclination. Queen Artemisia was the only person that opposed this resolution. She was queen of Halicarnassus, and followed Xerxes in this war with five ships, the best equipped of any in the fleet, except those of the Sidonians. This princess distinguished herself, on all occasions, by her singular courage, and still more by her prudence and conduct; for, our author observes, that there was not one who gave Xerxes so good advice as this heroine. She represented in the council of war we are speaking of, the dangerous consequences of engaging a people that were far more expert in maritime affairs than the Persians, alleging, that the loss of a battle at sea would be attended with the ruin of their army; whereas, by spinning out the war, and advancing into the heart of Greece, they would create jealousies and divisions among their enemies, who would separate from one another, in order to defend each of them their own country; and that the king might, almost without striking a blow, make himself master of Greece². This advice, though very prudent, was not followed, but an engagement resolved upon. Xerxes, in order to encourage his men with his presence, caused a throne to be erected on the top of an eminence, whence he might safely behold whatever happened, having several scribes about him, to write down the names of such as should signalize themselves against the enemy. The approach of the Persian fleet, with the news, that a strong detachment from the army was marching against Cleombrotus, who defended the Isthmus, struck such a terror into the Peloponnesians, that they could not, by any intreaties, be prevailed upon to stay any longer at Salamis. Being therefore determined to put to sea, and sail to the Isthmus, Themistocles privately dispatched a trusty friend to the Persian commanders, informing them of the intended flight,

*Artemisia
dissuades
the Persi-
ans from
engaging
at sea.*

*The Pelo-
ponnesians
over-
reached by
Themisto-
cles.*

¹ Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 45. 57. 60. 65.

² Idem ibid. cap. 68.

and exhorting them to send part of their fleet round the island, in order to prevent their escape. The same messenger assured Xerxes, that Themistocles, who sent him that advice, designed to join the Persians, as soon as the battle should begin, with all the Athenian ships. The king giving credit to all he said, immediately caused a strong squadron to sail round the island in the night, in order to cut off the enemy's flight. Early next morning, as the Peloponnesians were preparing to set sail, they found themselves encompassed on all hands by the Persian fleet; and were therefore obliged to remain in the Straights of Salamis, and expose themselves to the same dangers with their allies^a. The Grecian fleet consisted of three hundred and eighty sail, that of the Persians, of two thousand and upwards. Themistocles avoided the engagement till a certain wind, which rose regularly every day at the same time, and was entirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As soon as he found himself favoured by this breeze, he gave the signal for battle. The Persians knowing that they fought under their king's eye, advanced with great resolution; but the wind blowing directly in their faces, and the largeness and number of their ships embarrassing them, in a place so streight and narrow, their courage soon abated: the Greeks observing their confusion, used such efforts, that, in a short time breaking into the Persian fleet, they entirely disordered them, some flying towards Phalerus, where their army lay encamped, others saving themselves in the harbours of the neighbouring islands. The Ionians were the first that betook themselves to flight^c. But queen Artemisia distinguished herself above all the rest, her ships being the last that fled: a circumstance which Xerxes observing, cried out, that the men behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men. The Athenians were so incensed against her, that they offered a reward of ten thousand drachmas to any one that should take her alive; but she, notwithstanding all their efforts, got clear of the ships that pursued her, and arrived safe on the coast of Asia^d. In this engagement, which was one of the most memorable actions we find recorded in history, the Grecians lost forty ships, and the Persians two hundred, besides a great many more that were taken, with all the men and ammunition they contained. Many of their

The Persian fleet defeated by the Greeks. Artemisia's bravery, and narrow escape.

^a Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 74—76.

^c Idem ibid. cap. 83—85.

^d Ibid. cap. 86—88, & 91. Justin. lib. ii. cap. 12.

allies,

allies, dreading the king's cruelty, made the best of their way to their respective countries. Xerxes, being under no small apprehension, lest the conquerors should sail to the Hellespont, and there obstruct his return, left Mardonius in Greece, with an army of three hundred thousand men, and marched with the rest towards Thrace, in order to cross the Hellespont. As no provisions had been previously prepared, his army underwent great hardships during the whole march, which lasted forty-five days. The soldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even the bark, and leaves of trees; which occasioned innumerable distempers, that swept off the greater part of them. The king, finding that his army was not in a condition to pursue the march so expeditiously as he desired, advanced with a small retinue, leaving the rest behind; but when he arrived at the Hellespont, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the storms; and was reduced to the necessity of crossing over in a fishing-boat. From the Hellespont he continued his flight to Sardis, where he took up his quarters for the ensuing year.

Xerxes' retreat and distress.

The first care of the Athenians, after the battle, was to send the first fruits of their victory to Delphos, where they enriched the temple with the spoils of those by whom it had been lately pillaged. Their next resolution was, to reward those who had signalized themselves above the rest. It was a custom in Greece, that, after an engagement, the commanding officers should declare who, in their opinion, had most distinguished themselves, during the conflict, by writing down the names of the person that deserved the first, and of him who deserved the second prize. On this occasion, each captain, being ambitious of that honour, wrote down his own name in the first place, and, in the second, the name of Themistocles; so that this last was justly deemed to have deserved the preference to all. And accordingly he was distinguished with honours, which to that time had never been bestowed upon any other, as we shall have occasion to relate in the history of Greece *.

Themistocles gains the prize of his valour.

About the same time that the actions of Thermopylae and Salamis happened, the formidable army of the Carthaginians, consisting of three hundred thousand men, was entirely defeated by Gelo, king of Syracuse.

On Xerxes' departure out of Greece, Mardonius, having passed the winter in Thessaly and Macedonia, marched

* Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 122, 123.

*Attica
wasted by
Mardo-
nius.*

*The
strength of
the Persi-
an and
Grecian
army.*

early in the spring into Bœotia: from thence he sent Alexander, king of Macedon, with very advantageous offers to the people of Athens, in order to detach them from the common alliance. The offers he made were to rebuild, at the king's charges, their city, and whatever other edifices had been demolished the year before in Attica; to suffer them to live according to their own laws; to reinstate them in all their former possessions; and to add to them whatever other lands they should desire. Alexander, as being their ancient friend, exhorted them, in his own name, to lay hold of so favourable an opportunity of resettling their affairs, representing, that they were not in a condition to withstand so powerful an enemy. But the Athenians could not be prevailed upon, by any means, to desert the interest of Greece. Mardonius therefore marched with all his army into Attica, wasting and destroying whatever he found in his way. The Athenians, not being in a condition to withstand such a torrent, retired to Salamis, Ægina, and Irazene; and the second time abandoned their city. Mardonius entered Athens, and demolished whatever had escaped the Persians the preceding year⁷. In the mean time, the joint forces of Greece being drawn together on the Isthmus of Corinth, Mardonius thought fit to march back into Bœotia; for that being an open and level country, was more fit for him to engage in than Attica, which was rough, craggy, full of hills and narrow passes. On his return into Bœotia, he encamped on the banks of the Asopus. The Greeks followed him thither, under the command of Pausanias, king of Sparta, and of Aristides, commander in chief of the Athenians. The Persian army, according to the computation of Herodotus, consisted of three hundred and fifty thousand men; according to Diodorus, of five hundred thousand: that of the Grecians did not amount to one hundred and ten thousand. Mardonius, in order to try the courage of the Greeks, sent out his cavalry, in which the main strength of his army consisted, to skirmish with the enemy. The Megarians, who were encamped on a plain, sustained the first onset with great firmness; but were forced to give way, being galled with the enemy's arrows. As they were giving ground, a detachment of three hundred Athenians, with a small number of archers, advanced to their relief. Masistius, general of the Persian horse, highly esteemed in Persia, seeing them ad-

⁷ Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 113, 114, & lib. ix. cap. 3. 13. 14.

vance in good order, commanded his cavalry to face about, and attack them. The shock was very violent, both parties endeavouring to shew, by the issue of this encounter, what might be the success of a general engagement. The victory was a long time doubtful, but, at last, Masistius being killed, the Persians betook themselves to flight. The death of Masistius was greatly lamented by the Persians, who, to shew their concern for the loss of so brave a commander, cut off their hair, and likewise the manes of their horses, filling the camp with loud cries and lamentations *. After this encounter, the two armies continued for the space of ten days surveying each other. At last Mardonius, who was of a fiery temper, impatient of farther delays, and seeing his provisions almost exhausted, called a council of war, in order to deliberate, whether they should give battle, or retire till such time as they could be supplied with fresh provisions. Artabazus, a nobleman of great distinction and experience, was of opinion, that they should not hazard a battle, but retire under the walls of Thebes, where they would be in a condition to lay in stores of provision and forage. He alleged, that, by delaying, they might cast a damp upon the ardour of the enemies; and, in the mean time, by sending rich presents to their leaders, prevail upon them to betray the common liberty, without hazarding a battle. The Thebans were of the same opinion; but that of Mardonius, who was for engaging, prevailed, none of the other commanders daring to contradict him; and the result of their deliberations was, that they should give battle next day. Alexander, king of Macedon, who in his heart favoured the Greeks, came secretly, about midnight, into their camp, and informed Aristides of all that passed *.

*Masistius
defeated
and killed.*

The Greek generals, upon this notice, ordered their officers to prepare for fight. Before they engaged, Pausanias thought fit to change the order of battle, and place the Athenians, who were in the left wing, on the right, that they might be opposed to the Medes and Persians, whom they had formerly conquered at Marathon, while he with his Spartans, engaged the Thebans, and other Greeks, who served in the Persian army, and had been often routed by the Spartans. But Mardonius, upon the intelligence he had of this new disposition, made the like change, which obliged the Greeks to return to their former stations, and the Persians likewise ranged their

*Both armies re-
solve to en-
gage.*

* Herodot. lib. ix. cap. 22. 24.

* Idem ibid. cap. 43.

Yr. of Fl.
1869.
Ante Chr.
479.

*The battle
of Plataea.*

*The Per-
sians de-
feated.*

*Mardonius
killed.*

army according to their first disposition. Thus did all that day pass without any action. In the evening the Greeks held a council of war, in which it was resolved that they should decamp, and retire to some other place more conveniently situated for water. Night coming on, and the officers endeavouring, at the head of the bodies they commanded, to make what haste they could to the camp that was marked out for them, great confusion ensued, some going one way and some another, without observing any order in their march. At last they stopped near the little city of Plataea. Mardonius being informed that the Greeks were retired by night, drew up his army in battle-array, and pursued them with great shouts, as if they were not to fight, but to strip and plunder a flying enemy. He did not fail on this occasion to insult Artabazus, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and the false notion he had conceived of the Lacedæmonians, who never fled, as he pretended, before the enemy. Having passed the Asopus, he came up with the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans, who were separated from the body of the army, to the number of fifty-three thousand men. Pausanias finding himself thus attacked by the whole Persian army, dispatched a messenger to acquaint the Athenians, who had taken another route, with the danger he was in. The Athenians immediately put themselves in motion to succour their distressed allies; but were attacked, and, to their great regret, prevented by those Greeks who sided with the Persians. The battle being thus fought in two places, the Spartans were the first who broke into the very center of the Persian army, and, after a most obstinate resistance, put them to flight. Mardonius, mounted on a white horse, signalized himself on this occasion, and, at the head of a thousand chosen men, bravely opposed the enemy; but he falling, the whole Persian army was easily routed. Those Greeks, who had engaged the Athenians, retired with precipitation, leaving the Athenians masters of the field. The Persians fled to their former camp, which they had fortified with an enclosure of wood. The Lacedæmonians pursued them, but were not able to force the entrenchment, not being accustomed to besiege towns, or storm fortified places. The Athenians, hearing the Persians were thus shut up in their camp, left off pursuing the Greeks, and hastened to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, whom they found busied in forcing the enemy's camp with more labour than skill: wherefore they took upon themselves that task, and soon made a breach in the wall,

wall, through which entering, together with the Lacedæmonians, they made such a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, that of three hundred thousand, scarce three thousand made their escape. Artabazus, who from Marodonius's imprudent conduct, had foreseen the misfortune that befel them, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, made a timely retreat with the forty thousand men he commanded; and, being safe arrived at Byzantium, from thence passed over into Asia. During the whole engagement the Spartans lost but ninety-one men, the Tegeans sixteen, and the Athenians fifty-two. When they came to determine who had behaved with most courage, they all gave judgment in favour of Aristodemus, who was the only person that had saved himself at Thermopylæ, and who had now wiped off the blemish of his former conduct by a most glorious death. The spoil was immense, consisting in vast sums of money in gold and silver cups, vessels, tables, bracelets, rich beds, and all sorts of furniture. They gave the tenth of all to Pausanias, who behaved in a very extraordinary manner; and the others were rewarded, each according to his merit^b. Thus was Greece delivered, not only from the present, but all future invasions of the Persians, who henceforward never crossed the Hellespont.

The Persian camp forced by the Athenians.

The immense spoil of it.

The same day that this battle was fought at Platæa, the Grecian fleet gained as memorable a victory at Mycale, a promontory in Asia, over the remainder of the Persian navy: for, while the land-forces of Greece rendezvoused on the Isthmus of Corinth, their fleet met at Ægina, under the command of Leotychides the other king of Sparta, and Xantippus the Athenian. Thither ambassadors came to their commanders from the Ionians, inviting them into Asia, to deliver the Greek colonies from the Persian yoke. On this invitation they immediately set sail for Asia, steering their course by Delos, where they were met by other ambassadors from Samos, who brought them intelligence, that the Persian fleet, which had wintered at Cuma, was then at Samos, where it might be easily destroyed; earnestly intreating them, at the same time, not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. In consequence of this advice they sailed to Samos; but the Persian fleet receiving timely notice of their design, retired to Mycale, where the army lay encamped, consisting of a hundred thousand men, the remainder of those

^b Herodot. lib. ix. cap. 31—69.

The Persians defeated at Mycale.

Betrayed by the Milesians.

Xerxes had brought back out of Greece the year before. Here they drew their ships ashore, and threw up an intrenchment quite round, which they fortified with pallisades, being determined to sustain a siege. The Greeks arriving at Mycale, found all the enemy's ships within the circumvallation, and a numerous army disposed along the coast; however, they did not meet with the least opposition in landing their men, and drawing them up in order of battle; which, when they had done, they attacked the enemy with such vigour, that they obliged them to fly to their entrenchments, and pursued them so close, that they entered the camp at the same time. When the enemy saw their entrenchments forced, all the auxiliaries betook themselves to flight; but the Persians, though reduced to a small number, still continued to dispute the entrance of their camp against the Greeks. Meanwhile the Lacedæmonians, who had taken a wider compass, arriving with other troops of the allies, the Persians likewise abandoned their post, and saved themselves by flying to the passes of the neighbouring mountains. Before the engagement they had appointed the Milesians to guard these passes, that they might have a safe retreat in case they were put to flight, and sure guides to conduct them through the mountains; but they treacherously brought back, by other ways, to the enemy, such as fled to them, by which means a very small number escaped the general slaughter of that day. The two Persian generals, Mardonius and Tigranes, fell in the field, with many other commanders of great distinction. The Greeks, having made a prodigious havock of the enemy both in the action and in the pursuit, set fire to the Persian ships, burnt the whole camp, and sailed for Samos, loaded with an immense booty, consisting of seventy chests of money, besides many other things of inestimable value. Thus ended all the great designs of Xerxes in a most miserable disappointment, a small number of those millions of men now remaining, with which the year before he had marched so proudly over the Hellespont.

Leotychides' stratagem.

The battle of Platæa was fought in the morning, and that of Mycale in the afternoon of the same day; and yet all the Greek writers pretend, that the victory at Platæa was known at Mycale before the engagement began there, though these two places were parted by the whole Ægean, a sea of several days sail. But Diodorus Siculus tells us, that Leotychides, observing his troops to be in great pain for their countrymen at Platæa, lest they should be overpowered

powered by the numerous army of Mardonius, in order to raise their spirits and courage, caused a report to be spread in the army, that the Persians were defeated at Platæa, though at that time he knew nothing of the matter^c.

Xerxes, upon the news of these two overthrows, left Sardis with precipitation, making all the haste he could towards Persia, that he might get as far as possible out of the reach of the conquering enemy. But, before he set out, he gave orders, that all the temples of the Greek cities in Asia should be burnt and demolished; and his orders were so far executed that not one was left standing except that of Diana at Ephesus^d (N).

Xerxes' hasty flight.

The Greek temples destroyed.

The Grecian fleet, after the battle of Mycale, steered their course first to Samos, and thence to the Hellespont, in order to possess themselves of the bridges which Xerxes had caused to be laid over those streights; but, finding them broken by storms, Leotychides, with his Peloponnesian forces, sailed home. Xantippus, with the Athenians, and his allies the Ionians remaining there, made himself master of Sistus, and the whole Thracian Chersonesus, where the army was enriched with an immense booty, which, on the approach of winter, they carried home to their respective countries. Xantippus finding all the materials of the bridges at Cardia, whither they had been conveyed by order of Xerxes, carried them with him to Athens, where they were preserved for many years, as a monument of the many victories which the Greeks had obtained in this war^e. From this time the Ionian cities in Asia, shaking off the Persian yoke, recovered their

Xantippus conveys the Persian spoils to Athens.

^c Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 28.
vii. cap. 5. Solin. cap. 40.

^d Strabo, lib. xiv. Curt. lib.
^e Herodot. lib. ix. cap. 118, 119,
120, & Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. ad ann. 2. Olymp. 75.

(N) We shall not pretend to determine whether Xerxes' resentment, after so many defeats, prompted him to this measure, or a singular zeal for the institution of the magi, in whose religion he had been thoroughly instructed by Zoroaster; for that religion expressing a great detestation of worshipping God by images, its zealots were for destroying

all idolatrous temples wherever they came: and to keep Xerxes steady in their party, not only several of the chief doctors of the magi, but Ostanes himself, who was then at the head of the old sect, attended him during the whole time of this expedition: so that, if we may credit Cicero, it was at their instigation that all those temples were destroyed (1).

(1) Vide Cicero de Legibus, lib. ii.

ancient liberty, and maintained it as long as that empire subsisted.

Yr. of Fl.
1871.
Ante Chr.
477.

*The Per-
sians
driven out
of Cyprus.*

The Greeks, having settled their affairs at home, resolved to pursue the war, and drive the Persians out of all the Greek cities in Asia and the neighbouring islands. With this view they equipped a powerful fleet, which sailing to Cyprus, under the command of Pausanias and Aristides, expelled the Persians from that island, and restored the inhabitants to their ancient liberty^f.

*Xerxes'
incestuous
intrigue
with his
daughter-
in-law.*

While Xerxes resided at Sardis, he conceived a violent passion for the wife of his brother Masistes, a prince of extraordinary merit, who had served the king with great zeal and fidelity. As she was a woman of great virtue, and had a singular value for her husband, she could, by no solicitations, be prevailed upon to defile his bed. However, the king, still flattering himself, that, by heaping favours upon her, he might at last conquer her virtue, married his eldest son Darius, whom he had appointed his successor to the crown, to Artaynta, this princess's daughter. As this was the greatest favour he could bestow on the mother, he expected it would engage her to comply with his desires. But Xerxes, finding her virtue proof against all temptations, changed his inclinations for the mother, and fell passionately in love with the daughter, who was now the wife of his own son, and did not follow the glorious example of her mother's firmness and virtue. While this intrigue was carrying on, Hamestris, wife to Xerxes, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle, presented it to the king; which he being wonderfully pleased with, put on when he first visited his mistress. In the course of the conversation he desired her to ask a favour, binding himself with an oath to deny her nothing. Thus indulged, Artaynta desired him to give her the mantle. Xerxes foreseeing the bad consequences that would necessarily attend his complying with her request, did all that lay in his power to dissuade her from insisting on her first demand. He offered her immense treasures, with cities and an army, to be solely at her disposal; which was one of the greatest presents that the Persian kings could make. But, not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himself bound by his imprudent promise and rash oath, he yielded to her importunity, and gave her the mantle; which she immediately

^f Diod. Sicul. ad ann. 4. Olymp. 75. & Thucyd. lib. i. & Plutarch. in Aristide.

put on, and publicly wore, as a trophy of her power over the king. Hamestris, being now confirmed in the suspicion she had entertained, was incensed to the highest degree; but, instead of venting her rage against the daughter, who alone was faulty, resolved to be revenged on the innocent mother, whom she looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue. For the better executing her design, she waited the great festival, which was annually celebrated on the king's birth-day; on which occasion Xerxes, according to the established custom of the country, used to grant the queen whatever she demanded. This anniversary being come, she asked, that the wife of his brother Masistes might be delivered into her hands. Xerxes, who apprehended the queen's design, was struck with horror at her demand, both from regard to his brother, and because he knew, that his wife was quite innocent; he therefore at first withstood her request; but, being at last overcome by her solicitations, he consented with the utmost reluctance; and, ordering his guards to seize the innocent princess, delivered her into the hands of the revengeful and enraged Hamestris. This incensed barbarian immediately caused her breasts, tongue, nose, ears, and lips to be cut off, and thrown to the dogs before her face; and then sent her home in that miserable condition to her husband. In the mean time Xerxes had sent for his brother, to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He first told him, that he must part with his wife, and that he designed to supply her place with one of his own daughters. But Masistes, who was passionately fond of his wife, could not be induced to divorce her, by any offers whatsoever. Xerxes then waxing warm, told him, that since he refused his daughter, he should neither have her, nor his own wife; and he was dismissed with this inhuman reply. Masistes, from this preamble, apprehending some great misfortune, made all the haste he could home, to see what had passed during his absence. On his arrival he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have described. Being exasperated at this outrage, he immediately assembled all his family, servants, and dependents, and set out with all possible expedition for the province of Bactriana, of which he was governor, with full resolution to excite the Bactrians to revolt, and revenge his cause. But Xerxes hearing of his sudden departure, and suspecting his design, sent a party of horse after him; who, overtaking him, cut him in pieces, with his wife, children, and all his

*Hamestris's
cruelty to
the inno-
cent wife
of Masistes.*

*Masistes
and his
wife and
family
massacred
by Xerxes.*

A fresh instance of Hamestris' cruelty.

his retinue. There is another action no less cruel and impious related of Hamestris: she caused fourteen children of the best families in Persia to be buried alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods ^s.

Upon the death of Masiites, Xerxes appointed Hytaspes, his own second son, to be governor of Bactria; an office, which obliging him to live at a distance from court, gave his younger brother Artaxerxes an opportunity of mounting the throne before him, as will be seen in its proper place.

Byzantium taken from the Persians.

The Grecian fleet having driven the Persians out of Cyprus, sailed from thence to the Hellespont, and reduced the city of Byzantium, where they took several prisoners of eminent note, and some nearly related to Xerxes himself; but they were all treacherously released by Pausanias, who pretended they had made their escape, as we shall relate more at length in the history of Greece.

Yr. of Fl.
1872.
Ante Chr.
476.

A few years after this event, the Athenian fleet, under the command of Cimon, the son of Miltiades, took Eione, on the river Strymon, and brought again under subjection the islands of Scyrus and Naxus, which had revolted ^b. Cimon encouraged with this success, passed over to the coast of Asia, and compelled the Persians to abandon all the maritime cities of Caria and Lycia. Then he sailed in quest of their fleet; and finding it riding at anchor, at the mouth of the river Eurymedon, on the coast of Pamphylia, while the army was encamped on the shore, he first attacked the fleet and then the army, overthrew both, and gained two victories on the same day, whereof the one was equal to the victory of Salamis, and the other to that of Plataea ¹. Next year, Cimon drove the Persians out of the Thracian Chersonesus, subdued the Thracians, who had revolted from the Athenians, and then, landing his army on the opposite shore of Thrace, seized on the gold mines on those coasts, and reduced all that country as far as Macedon.

Yr. of Fl.
1878.
Ante Chr.
470.

The Persian fleet and army defeated by Cimon.

Xerxes, being wholly discouraged by a continual series of shameful defeats, resigned all thoughts of war and conquests, and never afterwards suffered his ships to appear in the Ægean Sea, or his forces on its coasts. He gave himself entirely up to luxury and ease, minding nothing but the gratifying his lusts and vicious inclinations. This dissolute manner of life drew upon him the

^s Herodot. lib. ix. cap. 107—112. ^b Thucyd. lib. i. ¹ Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. Plutarch. in Cimone. Æmil. Prob. in Cimone.

contempt and hatred of his subjects; which induced Artabanus, a native of Hyrcania, captain of his guards, who had long been his chief favourite, to conspire against his life. This nobleman prevailed upon Mithridates, one of the eunuchs of the palace, to engage in the conspiracy; and, being by him let into the king's bed-chamber, murdered him, in the twenty-first year of his reign, while he was asleep. He then went to Artaxerxes, the king's third son, and charged Darius his elder brother with the murder, insinuating that an eager desire of ascending the throne had prompted him to that execrable crime. He told him, at the same time, that Darius designed to cut him off next, in order to secure the crown to himself; and therefore he ought to guard against all dangers. Artaxerxes, being then a very young man, rashly believed whatever Artabanus told him; and, without farther examination, went immediately to his brother's apartment, and there being assisted by Artabanus and his guards, murdered that prince. The next heir was Hytaspes, the second son of Xerxes; but, as he was then in Bactriana, of which province he was governor, Artabanus placed Artaxerxes on the throne, but with a design to let him enjoy the sovereignty only till such time as he had formed a party strong enough to drive him from it, and seize it for himself^k. His great authority had gained him many dependents; and besides, he had seven sons, who were all robust, courageous, and raised to the highest dignities of the empire. His confidence in these inspired him with this design; but, while he was hastening to put it in execution, Artaxerxes, being informed of the whole plot by Megabyzus, who had married one of his sisters, countermined his scheme, and killed him, before his treason was ripe for execution. His death secured the possession of the kingdom^l to Artaxerxes, who is said to have been the handsomest man of the age he lived in, and a prince of a very mild and generous disposition. By the Greeks he is called Macrocheir, that is, *Long-handed*, on account of the more than ordinary length of his hands; but, in Scripture, he bears the name of Ahafuerus, as well as that of Artaxerxes, and is the same, who raised Esther to be his queen.

Having, by the death of Artabanus, removed one dangerous competitor, he had still two great obstacles in his

Artabanus's treachery.

Yr. of Fl.
189a.
Ante Chr.
456.

Xerxes murdered.

Darius murdered.

Artaxerxes mounts the throne.

Artabanus discovered and put to death.

Artaxerxes Longimanus.

^k Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 53.
^l Justin. lib. iii. cap. 1.

^l Idem ibid. p. 52. Ctesias.

Artaxerxes crushes the faction of Artabanus.

Defeats his brother.

way, viz. his brother Hyftafpes in Baëtria, and the party of Artabanus at home, which gave him the first trouble. Artabanus, as we have hinted above, had seven sons, and many partisans, who immediately assembled, in order to revenge his death. A bloody conflict ensued, in which many Persians of distinction fell on both sides. But at length Artaxerxes having prevailed, put to death all those who were privy to the plot; those especially who had any concern in the murder of his father, were punished in a most severe and exemplary manner. The eunuch Mithridates, who betrayed him, was boated; a punishment, which was in use among the Persians, and which we have already described, where we gave an account of the manners of that nation. Artaxerxes having thus crushed the faction of Artabanus at home, was in a condition to send an army into Baëtria, which had declared in favour of his brother. But here he was not attended with the like success; for the two armies engaging, Hyftafpes stood his ground, and, though he did not prove victorious, sustained no considerable loss, both parties retiring, with equal fortune, to prepare for a second encounter. Next year, Artaxerxes, assembling a far more powerful army, as having the greater part of the empire at his devotion, overpowered Hyftafpes, and, by a complete victory, secured to himself the quiet possession of the throne. To prevent all farther disturbances, he removed such governors of cities and provinces as he suspected to be affected to either of the factions he had overcome, putting others in their room, who he could safely trust in. He afterwards applied himself to the reforming of many abuses and disorders, that had crept into the government; whereby he gained great reputation, and won the hearts of his subjects throughout all the provinces of his dominions^m. Being now settled in the peaceable possession of the whole empire, he appointed rejoicings and feasts to be made for the space of one hundred and eighty days in the city of Susa, at the conclusion of which, he gave a grand entertainment to all the princes and people, that were then in that city, which lasted seven daysⁿ. Vashti the queen, at the same time, made a like feast in her apartment for the women. And here the history of Hadassah, or Esther, for which we refer the reader to that book, takes place.

^m Plutarch in Artaxerx. Ctes. cap. 37. Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 54.

ⁿ Eth. i. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. cap. 6.

In the fifth year of Artaxerxes' reign, the Egyptians revolted, and, making Inarus, prince of the Libyans, their king, called in the Athenians to their assistance, who, having, at that time, a fleet of two hundred ships lying off the island of Cyprus, accepted the invitation, looking upon it as a very favourable opportunity of weakening the Persian power, by driving them from so rich a kingdom. But this war proved fatal both to them and their Egyptian allies. The Athenians lost their fleet, and the Egyptians were reduced to slavery; nevertheless Athens having equipped another fleet of two hundred sail, gave the command of it to Cimon, who took Citium, Malum, and several other cities of Cyprus; and from thence sent sixty sail to the assistance of Amyrtæus, in the fens of Egypt. Artabazus, being then in those seas, with a fleet of three hundred ships, Cimon, as soon as his squadron returned from Egypt, fell upon him, took one hundred of his ships, destroyed many others, and pursued the remainder to the coasts of Phœnicia. Flushed with his success, on his return, he landed his troops in Cilicia, where he found Megabyzus with an army of three hundred thousand men, who had marched against him, and, having put him to flight, with a great slaughter, returned to Cyprus, in double triumph.

Artaxerxes, tired with a war, in which he had sustained so great losses, resolved, with the advice of his counsellors, to put an end to so many calamities, by coming to an accommodation with the enemy. Accordingly, he sent orders to his generals, who were charged with the management of the Cyprian war, to conclude a peace with the Athenians, on the best terms they could obtain. Megabyzus and Artabazus immediately sent ambassadors to Athens, to propose an accommodation, which was agreed upon by the deputies of both sides, on the following terms: 1. That all the Greek cities of Asia should be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws. 2. That no Persian ships of war should enter those seas that lie between the Cyanean and Chelidonian islands; that is, from the Euxine Sea to the coasts of Pamphylia. 3. That no Persian general should come, by land, within three days march of those seas. 4. That the Athenians should not commit any hostilities in the territories of the king of Persia. These articles being sworn to by both parties, peace was proclaimed. Thus ended this war,

Yr. of Fl.
1888.
Ante Chr.
460.

The Egyptians revolt, assisted by the Athenians.

Cimon's success in Cyprus against the Persian fleet.

Artaxerxes makes peace with the Athenians.

• Plutarch in Cimon. Thucid. lib. i. Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 73.

which had lasted from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, fifty-one years complete, and destroyed multitudes of Greeks and Persians ^p.

*Inarus
crucified.*

*Megabyzus
revolts and
defeats O-
siris.*

*Yr. of Fl.
1900.
Ante Chr.
448.*

Artaxerxes being continually importuned by his mother, for five years together, to deliver to her Inarus, and the Athenians who had been taken with him in Egypt, that she might sacrifice them to the manes of her son Achæmenes, yielded at last to her unwearied solicitations. This inhuman princess, without any regard to the conditions, which had been with the greatest solemnity ratified, caused Inarus to be crucified, and the heads of all the rest to be struck off. Megabyzus, who had engaged his word, that their life should be spared, looked upon this sacrifice as a dishonour done to him; and therefore, retiring to Syria, of which province he was governor, raised an army and openly revolted. The king immediately sent Osiris, one of the chief lords of the court, with an army of two hundred thousand men, to suppress this rebellion: but Megabyzus, in a general engagement, wounded him, took him prisoner, and put his numerous army to flight. Artaxerxes hearing that his general was taken, sent a messenger to demand him; and Megabyzus generously released him, as soon as his wounds were cured ^q.

*Pardoned
and rein-
stated.*

Next year Artaxerxes sent another army against him, under the command of Menostanes son to Artarius, the king's brother, and governor of Babylon. This general was attended with no better success than the other; for he was in the same manner defeated and put to flight, leaving Megabyzus master of the field, and all the baggage. The king being sensible, that he could not get the better of him by dint of arms, sent his brother Artarius, and his sister Amytis, who was wife to Megabyzus, to persuade him to return to his duty. By their mediation the difference being adjusted, the king granted him his pardon; and he returned to court. Not long after, a lion being ready to destroy the king as he was hunting, Megabyzus, to shew his zeal and affection for his sovereign, threw a dart at the lion and killed him. The king, still retaining ill-will against him, upon pretence that he had affronted him in shooting first at the lion, commanded his head to be struck off: and it was with the utmost difficulty, that Amytis his sister, and Hamestris his mother, prevailed upon him to change the sentence of death into that of

^p Diod. ubi supra, p. 74. Thucid. lib. i. Plutarch in Cimone.
^q Ctesias, cap. 35.

perpetual banishment; Megabyzus was therefore sent to Cyrtā, a city standing on the Red Sea, and sentenced to pass the rest of his life there, under confinement. However, five years after, he made his escape from thence, and, under disguise, reached his own house at Susa, where, by the intercession of his wife and mother-in-law, he was reinstated in the king's favour, and enjoyed it till his death, which happened in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was greatly lamented by the king and the whole court, being the best counsellor, and greatest general, of the whole empire. To him Artaxerxes owed both his life and his crown, at his first accession to the government; but it is of dangerous consequence, in a subject, to have too much obliged his sovereign; for this was the true source of all the misfortunes that befel Megabyzus.

Banished.

Reinstated.

In the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, a war breaking out between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, commonly called the Peloponnesian war, both parties sent ambassadors to the king, imploring his assistance. But we do not find that Artaxerxes returned them any answer before the seventh year of that war, when he sent an ambassador to the Lacedæmonians, named Artaphernes, with a letter written in the Assyrian tongue, wherein he told them, that several ambassadors had come to him from them; but the purport of their embassies differed so widely, that he could not comprehend what they requested; and therefore he had thought proper to send them a Persian, to let them know, that if they had any proposals to make, they should send a trusty person along with him, by whom he might be informed what they desired him to do. This ambassador, arriving at Eion, on the river Strymon in Thrace, was there taken prisoner by one of the admirals of the Athenian fleet, who sent him to Athens, where he was treated with the utmost civility and respect, the Athenians being extremely desirous of regaining the favour of the king his master^r. The year following, as soon as the season allowed the Athenians to put to sea, they sent back the ambassador, in one of their own ships, at the expence of the public, and appointed some of their citizens to attend him to the court of Persia, with the character of ambassadors. But, when they landed at Ephesus, they there received news of the king's death; whereupon the Athenians, not thinking it advisable to proceed farther, took their leave of Artaphernes and returned to Athens^s.

Yr. of Fl.
1917.
Ante Chr.
431.

Artaxerxes' letter to the Lacedæmonians.

^r Thucyd. lib. iv. p. 285, 286.

^s Idem ibid. p. 322.

Yr. of Fl. Artaxerxes favoured the Jews above all the kings of
 1924. Persia : but what happened to them during his reign, we
 Ante Chr. have related in the history of that people, as in a more
 424 proper place. This prince died in the forty-first year of
Xerxes II. his reign, and was succeeded by Xerxes, the only son he
 had by his queen : but, by his concubines, he had seven-
 teen, among whom were Sogdianus, or, as Ctesias calls
 him, Secundianus, Ochus, and Arsites. Xerxes, hav-
 ing drank immoderately at a great entertainment, retired
 to his bed-chamber, to refresh himself with sleep, after
 his debauch. This opportunity Sogdianus laid hold of ;
 and being conducted into the bed-chamber by Pharnacyas,
Slain. one of Xerxes' eunuchs, slew him, after he had reigned
 forty-five days ; and possessed himself of the kingdom*.

Sogdianus's Scarce was Sogdianus seated on the throne, when he
cruelties. put to death Bagorazus, the most faithful of all his fa-
 ther's eunuchs. He had been appointed to superintend
 the interment of Artaxerxes, and of the queen, Xerxes'
 mother, who died the same day with her royal consort.
 After he had conveyed both their bodies to the burial-
 place of the Persian kings, he found, on his return,
 Sogdianus in possession of the crown, with whom he had
 formerly some small difference. This Sogdianus remem-
 bered, and, taking, for a pretence to quarrel with him,
 something relating to the obsequies of his father, caused
 him to be stoned to death. By these murders he became
 very odious to the nobility and the army ; and being
 jealous lest some of his brothers might treat him as he
 had treated Xerxes, he sent for Ochus, whom he chiefly
 suspected, with a design to assassinate him the moment he
 arrived. Ochus had been, by his father, appointed go-
 vernor of Hyrcania ; and, being well apprised of his bro-
 ther's design, under several pretences, deferred his coming
 to court, till he had drawn together a powerful army,
 with which he advanced to the confines of Persia, openly
 declaring, that he designed to revenge the death of his
 brother. This declaration brought over to him many of
 the nobility and several governors of provinces, who, be-
 ing highly dissatisfied with the cruelty, and ill conduct of
Deposed by Sogdianus, put the tiara on Ochus's head, and proclaim-
Ochus. ed him king. Sogdianus seeing himself thus deserted,
 contrary to the advice of his best friends, came to an ac-
 commodation with Ochus, who, having him in his power,

* Ctes. cap. 47. Diod. Sicul. lib. xii. p. 115.

caused him to be thrown into ashes (O), where he died a *His cruel death.*

Ochus, being settled on the throne by the death of Sogdianus, changed his name, taking that of Darius; and is by historians commonly called Darius Nothus, or Darius the Bastard. *Ochus takes the name of Darius.*

Arsites, seeing in what manner Sogdianus had sup-
planted Xerxes, and been afterwards driven from the
throne by Ochus, began to entertain thoughts of treating
Ochus in the same manner. With this design, though he
was his brother by the same father and mother, he broke
out into an open rebellion against him, being encouraged
and assisted by Artypheus, the son of Megabyzus. Ochus,
whom henceforth we shall call Darius, sent Artasfy-
ras, one of his generals, against Artypheus, while he
marched against his brother Artsites. Artypheus, with the
assistance of his Greek mercenaries, twice defeated the
general who had been sent against him: but, these being
gained over with large bribes, he lost the third battle; and,
being reduced to great straits, surrendered himself to Da-
rius, upon promise of mercy. The king was for putting
him to death immediately; but was diverted from this
step, by Parysatis his wife and sister; she was daughter
to Artaxerxes by another mother, an intriguing and crafty
woman; and by her advice, the king was entirely govern-
ed in affairs of the highest importance. The counsel she
gave him, on this occasion, was to treat Artypheus with
great clemency, that by such usage of a rebellious servant,
he might the better encourage his brother to throw him-
self upon his mercy; and then punish them both together.
Darius followed her counsel, and had the success he pro-
posed; for Artsites, being informed of the gentle usage
Artypheus had met with, concluded that he, as a brother,

Yr. of Fl.
1926.
Ante Chr.
422.

*Arsites re-
bels.*

*Artypheus
surrender-
ing is par-
doned.*

† Ctesias, cap. 47. Diodor. lib. xii. p. 322.

(O) This punishment was invented for him, and became afterwards common in Persia. Ochus had sworn, that Sogdianus should not die by the sword, by poison, or of hunger. To keep his word, he contrived this new sort of punishment; it is described in the thirteenth chapter of the second book of Maccabees, thus:

“An high tower was filled to a certain height with ashes, and the criminal being thrown headlong into them, they were by a wheel, perpetually turned round him, till he was suffocated.” Thus this wicked prince lost his life, and his empire, after he had reigned six months and fifteen days.

*Put to death
with Ar-
sites.*

should be treated, at least, with the same indulgence. Flattered with this hope, he came to an agreement with the king, and surrendered himself into his hands. Darius having him in his power, was very much inclined to pardon him; but was prevailed upon by Parysatis to put both him and Artypheus to death, by suffocating them in ashes^u.

Yr. of Fl.
1934.
Ante Chr.
414.

*Pisuthnes
and his son
put to death.*

He also put to death Pharnacyas, for being concerned in the murder of Xerxes; and Monasthenes, another eunuch, who was the chief favourite of Sogdianus, was condemned to die a cruel death, which he prevented by laying violent hands on himself. These executions did not procure Darius the tranquility he expected; for his whole reign was disturbed with violent commotions raised in various parts of the empire. One of the most dangerous was that which was stirred up by Pisuthnes, governor of Lydia, who, setting up for himself, raised an army of Greek mercenaries, under the command of Lycon, an Athenian. Against him, Darius sent Tissaphernes, appointing him at the same time governor of Lydia, in his room. Tissaphernes, who was an artful and crafty man, found means to gain over the Greeks, who served under Pisuthnes, and induced both them and their general to change sides. Whereupon Pisuthnes, not being in a condition to carry on the war, surrendered, upon promise of pardon; but the king, the instant he was brought before him, sentenced him to death; and accordingly he was suffocated in ashes. But his death did not terminate the troubles he had raised; for his son Amorgas, with the remainder of the army, still opposed Tissaphernes; and for two years continued to infest the maritime parts of Asia Minor, till he was at length taken prisoner by the Peloponnesians, at Iasus, a city of Ionia, and delivered by the inhabitants to Tissaphernes, who put him to death^x.

Darius had scarce quelled this rebellion, when he found himself involved in new troubles. His court, and we may say the whole empire, were governed by the eunuchs Artoxares, Artibarzanes, and Athous. These he consulted, and followed their advice, in all the momentous affairs of the empire; but Artoxares was the chief favourite, and nothing was transacted but by his direction. This eunuch, intoxicated with power, began to entertain thoughts of ascending the throne; and actually formed a design of

^u Ctesias, cap. 49.

^x Ibid. cap. 51.

cutting off Darius. With this view, that he might not be thought an eunuch, which was a strong objection to his being acknowledged king, he married, and wore an artificial beard, giving out that he was not what to that time the Persians had taken him to be. But his wife, who was privy to the whole plot, and perhaps glad to get rid of such a husband, discovered the whole matter to the king. Whereupon he was seized, and delivered to Parysatis, who caused him to be put to a cruel and ignominious death ^γ.

*Artaxares
put to
death.*

The same year that Pisuthnes rebelled, the Egyptians not only shook off the Persian yoke, but entering into a confederacy with the Arabians, resolved to carry the war into Phœnice. News of this revolt being brought to the court of Persia, the fleet, which the king had equipped with a design to assist the Lacedæmonians, was recalled to the defence of his own dominions ^z.

While Darius was carrying on a war against the Egyptians and Arabians, the Medes revolted; but, being defeated, were forced to return to their former allegiance; and, in punishment of their rebellion, reduced to harder subjection than before, as is usually the case. Darius seems to have been likewise successful against the Egyptians; for Amyrtæus being dead after a reign of six years, his son Pausiris succeeded him, as Herodotus informs us ^a, in the kingdom, with the consent of the Persians; a circumstance which shews, that these last were masters of Egypt.

*Darius's
success
against the
revolted
provinces.*

Darius, having thus settled the affairs of Media and Egypt, invested Cyrus, his youngest son, with the supreme command of all the provinces of Asia Minor. He was a very young man to be entrusted with so much power, for having been born after his father's accession to the crown, he could not have been above sixteen years old; when he received this important commission, but as he was the darling of his mother Parysatis, who had an absolute sway over the king her husband, she obtained this command for him, with a view to put him in a condition to contend for the crown after his father's death: and this use he made of it, to the great disturbance of the whole empire, as we shall see hereafter ^b. On his receiving his

*Cyrus the
Younger
appointed
governor
of Asia
Minor.*

*Yr. of Fl.
1991.
Ante Chr.
407.*

*Sent to assist
the Lacedæmonians.*

^γ Ctesias, cap. 51. ^z Thucyd. lib. viii. init. Justin. lib. v. cap. 2. Diodor. lib. xiii. p. 160. ^a Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 15. Xenoph. Hellen. lib. i. Plutarch in Artaxerxe & Lyfandro. Justin. lib. v. cap. 5. Diod. lib. xiii. p. 368.

commission

commission he was ordered to assist the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, contrary to the wise measures observed by Tissaphernes, who, by sometimes helping one side and sometimes the other, had so ballanced matters between them, that they continued to harass each other, without being at leisure to disturb the Persians, who had so long been the common enemies of both. This order being given, Cyrus soon discovered the weakness of the king's politics; for the Lacedæmonians having, with the assistance given them by Cyrus, soon overpowered the Athenians, sent first Thimbro, and after him Dercyllidas, and at last Agesilaus, their king, to invade the Persian provinces in Asia, where they made great conquests, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not Darius, by distributing large sums of money among the demagogues, or governors of the Greek cities, found means to rekindle the war in Greece; which obliged the Lacedæmonians to recal their troops for their own defence.

*Becomes
obnoxious
to his fa-
ther.*

Cyrus, having put to death two noble Persians, sons to a sister of Darius, for no other reason, but because they had not, in meeting him, wrapped up their hands in their sleeves, as was customary among the Persians, in presence of their king, Darius recalled him to court, on pretence that he was indisposed, and desired to see him. Cyrus, well knowing how great an ascendant his mother had over the king, prepared for his journey; but before he set out, he ordered such large subsidies to be sent to Lyfander, general of the Lacedæmonians, as enabled him to gain that memorable victory over the Athenians, at the Goats-river on the Hellespont, which put an end to the Athenian power, and the Peloponnesian war, after it had lasted twenty-seven years.^c Darius was highly incensed against Cyrus, not only on account of the death of his two nephews, but because he had presumed to challenge honours that were due only to the king; and therefore designed to deprive him of his government. But upon his arrival, the queen not only reconciled his father to him, but used all her art to have him declared heir to the crown, because he was born after his father's accession to the throne. Darius could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with her request; but, however, bequeathed him the government of those provinces which he ruled before. Not long after this transaction, Darius

^c Xenoph. Diod. Justin. *ibid.* Thucyd. lib. ii. Plutarch. in Lyfandro.

Nothus died, after he had reigned nineteen years; and was succeeded by Arfaces, his eldest son by Parysatis, who, on his ascending the throne, took the name of Artaxerxes, and, for his extraordinary memory, was by the Greeks called Mnemon^d. When he was attending his father on his death-bed, he desired to be informed by what art he had so happily managed the government, that, by following the same rule, he might be blessed with the like success. The dying king gave him this memorable answer, that he had ever done, to the best of his knowledge, what religion and justice required, without swerving from the one or the other^e.

Yr. of Fl.
1944.
Ante Chr.
404.

*Darius
Nothus
dies.*

Upon the death of Darius, his son Artaxerxes went to Pargada to be there inaugurated, after the Persian custom, by the priests of Bellona. At his arrival, he was informed by one of the priests, that his brother Cyrus had formed a conspiracy against him, with a design to murder him in the very temple. Upon this information Cyrus was seized, and sentenced to death; but his mother Parysatis prevailed upon the king not only to save his life, but to send him back to the government of Asia Minor^f.

*Artaxerxes
Mnemon.*

*Cyrus's
conspiracy.*

Artaxerxes was no sooner settled on the throne, than Statira, his queen, whom he was very fond of, on account of her extraordinary beauty, employed her power with him to the utter ruin of Udiastes, who had killed her brother Teriteuchmes. This quarrel had its rise in the reign of Darius, and the whole was a complication of adultery, incest, and murder; which raised great disturbances in the royal family, and ended in the ruin of all who were concerned in it. Statira was daughter to Hydarnes, a Persian lord, and governor of one of the chief provinces of the empire. Artaxerxes, then called Arfaces, falling in love with her, married her; and at the same time Teriteuchmes her brother married Hamestris, one of the daughters of Darius, and sister to Arfaces; on account of which marriage he was appointed, on his father's death, to succeed him in his government; but falling in love with his own sister Roxana, no ways inferior in beauty to Statira, that he might, without any constraint enjoy her, he resolved to dispatch his wife Hamestris, and raise a rebellion in the kingdom. Darius, being made acquainted with his wicked designs, engaged Udiastes, an inti-

*Statira's
resentment
against
Udiastes.*

^d Xenoph. Hellen. lib. ii. Plutarch. in Lyfandro & Artaxer. Diodor. lib. xiii. ^e Athenæus, lib. vii. Dipnosophist. Justin. lib. v. cap. 8. & 11. ^f Plutarch. in Artaxer. Xenoph. de Expedit. Cyr. lib. i. Justin. lib. v. cap. ult.

Parysatis' cruel revenge.

mate friend to Teriteuchmes, to murder him. For this service he was rewarded by the king with the government of his province. Mithridates, the son of Udiastes, who was one of Teriteuchmes' guards, and greatly attached to his master, hearing that his father had committed this murder, uttered dreadful imprecations against him; and, to shew his abhorrence of so vile an action, seized on the city of Zaris, and, openly revolting, declared for the son of Teriteuchmes. Mithridates was by the king's forces blocked up in the city of Zaris, and with him the son of Teriteuchmes. All the rest of the family of Hydarnes were apprehended, and delivered to Parysatis, to execute her revenge upon them for the ill-usage done, or intended against her daughter. That cruel princess began with Roxana, whose beauty had been the occasion of all this mischief, and caused her to be sawed asunder. The others were all beheaded, except Statira, whom she spared, at the earnest intreaties, and through the importunate tears of her husband Arsaces, contrary to the opinion of Darius, who told her that she would afterwards have occasion to repent it. Thus the case stood at the death of Darius. But Arsaces was no sooner settled on the throne, than Statira prevailed upon him to deliver Udiastes into her hands; whereupon she caused his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and made him die in the most exquisite torments she could invent, in revenge of the part he had acted in the ruin of her family. His son Mithridates she appointed governor of his province, for the attachment he had shewn to Teriteuchmes. But, Parysatis bitterly resenting this fact, poisoned the son of Teriteuchmes, and, not long after, Statira herself, as we shall hereafter relate^f.

Yr. of Fl.
1945.
Ante Chr.
403.

Cyrus designs a war against his brother.

Cyrus, returning to his government of Asia Minor, full of resentment for the sentence of death which his brother had pronounced against him, resolved to revolt, and use his utmost endeavours to drive him from the throne. With this view he employed Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian general, to raise a body of Greek troops for his service, under pretence of a war, which the Lacedæmonians were to carry into Thrace. Alcibiades, the Athenian, being well apprised of the true end for which these levies were made, passed over into the province of Pharnabazus, with a design to proceed from thence to the Persian court, and acquaint Artaxerxes with the whole scheme. A disco-

^f Ctes. in Pers.

very of such importance without all doubt would have procured him the favour of that prince, and the assistance he wanted for the re-establishment of his country. But the partizans of the Lacedæmonians at Athens, that is, the thirty tyrants, fearing the negociations of so superior a genius, found means to induce Pharnabazus to put him to death; whereby the Athenians lost the great hopes they had conceived of speedily recovering their former state^z.

The cities under the government of Tissaphernes revolted from him to Cyrus. This incident, which was the effect of the secret practices of that prince, gave birth to a war between them. Cyrus, under pretence of arming against Tissaphernes, assembled troops openly, and, to amuse the court more speciously, made grievous complaints to the king against that governor, demanding his protection and assistance in the most submissive manner. Artaxerxes, being deceived by these appearances, believed that all Cyrus's preparations were designed only against Tissaphernes; and not being displeased that they should be at variance with each other, suffered him to raise what forces he pleased^h.

Artaxerxes over-reached by Cyrus.

The young prince lost no time on his side, and hastened the execution of his great design. As he had assisted the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, and put them in a condition of gaining those victories, which made them masters of Greece, he thought he might safely disclose to them his intent, and ask their assistance in accomplishing it. The Lacedæmonians readily granted him his demand, dispatching immediately orders to their fleet to join that of the prince, and to obey in all things the command of Tamas his admiral; but they took care not to mention Artaxerxes, pretending not to be privy to the designs that were carrying on against him. This precaution they used, that in case Artaxerxes should get the better of his brother, they might justify themselves to him for what they had doneⁱ.

The army which Cyrus had raised consisted of thirteen thousand Greeks, and an hundred thousand regular troops of other nations. Clearchus the Lacedæmonian commanded all the Peloponnesian troops except the Achæans, who were led by Socrates of Achaia. The Bœotians were under Proxenes, a Theban, and the Thessalians com-

Cyrus's great army.

^z Xenoph. in *Expedit. Cyr.* lib. ii. Plutarch. in *Artaxerx.*

^h Xenoph. ubi supra. Plutarch in *Artaxerx.*

ⁱ Xenoph. ubi supra. Plutarch ibidem. Justin, lib. v. cap. 11.

manded

manded by Menon. The other nations were commanded by Persian generals, of whom the chief was Arizus. The fleet consisted of thirty-five ships, under Pythagoras, a Lacedæmonian, and twenty-five commanded by Tamos, an Egyptian, admiral of the whole fleet^k. Cyrus opened his design to none of the Greeks, except Clearchus, fearing the boldness of the enterprize might discourage the officers as well as the soldiers. Proxenes, between whose family and Xenophon's an ancient friendship subsisted, presented that young Athenian to Cyrus, who received him favourably, and gave him a commission among the Greek mercenaries^l. Cyrus having at length got all things ready, set out from Sardis, directing his march towards the upper parts of Asia, the troops neither knowing where, nor in what war they were to be employed; for Cyrus had only given out that he was marching against the Pisidians, who with frequent incursions harassed his province. However, Tissaphernes, judging these preparations to be too great for so small an enterprize, set out with all possible expedition from Miletus, to give the king a true account of them. Artaxerxes, being now well apprised of his brother's design, assembled a numerous army to receive him. In the mean time Cyrus advancing by long marches, arrived at the Streights of Cilicia, where he found Syennesis, king of that country, prepared to dispute his passage; wherein he would easily have succeeded, had he not been obliged to abandon that important pass, to defend his own territories against Tamos, and the Lacedæmonian fleet, which appeared upon the coasts^m.

Tissaphernes discovers Cyrus's intention.

The Greeks mutiny against Cyrus.

Reduced by Clearchus.

When they arrived at Tarsus, the Greeks refused to proceed any farther, suspecting that they were marching against the king, and protesting that they did not enter into the service on that condition. Clearchus at first made use of his authority to quell the tumult; but did not succeed: and therefore desisting from force, he pretended to enter into their views, and advised them to send deputies to Cyrus, to know from his own mouth against whom they were to be employed. By this artful evasion he appeased the tumult, and was himself chosen one of the deputies. Cyrus, whom he had previously acquainted with what had happened, answered, that he was going to attack Abrocomas, who was at twelve days march distance, encamped on the banks of the Euphrates. The

^k Xenoph. de Expedit. Cyr. lib. i. p. 252.
p. 294.

^m Xenoph. lib. i. p. 248—261.

^l Idem lib. ii.

Greeks plainly saw that this was not his true design; but nevertheless expressed their willingness to proceed, on condition that their pay should be increased. This demand Cyrus willingly granted; and having gained their affections during the march, by treating them with extraordinary kindness and humanity, he at last declared that he was marching against Artaxerxes. Upon this declaration some complaints were heard at first; but they soon gave way to expressions of joy and satisfaction occasioned by that prince's magnificent promises ^a.

Cyrus, after a long march, arriving in the plains of Cunaxa, in the province of Babylon, found there Artaxerxes, with an army of nine hundred thousand men, ready for battle. He forthwith leaped out of his chariot, and ordered his troops to stand to their arms, and to fall into their ranks; an order which was obeyed with great expedition, he not allowing them time to refresh themselves. Clearchus advised Cyrus not to charge in person, but to remain in the rear of the Greek battalions. This advice Cyrus rejected with indignation, saying, that he would not render himself unworthy of the crown for which he was fighting. As the king's army drew near, the Greeks fell upon them with such fury, that the wing opposite to them was at the very first onset put to flight; then Cyrus was, with loud shouts of joy, proclaimed king by those who stood round him. But he, in the mean time, perceiving that Artaxerxes was wheeling about to attack him in flank, advanced against him with six hundred chosen horse, killed Artagerfes captain of the king's guards with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. In this encounter discovering his brother, he cried out, I see him; and spurring on his horse, engaged him with great resolution, which, in some degree, turned the battle into a single combat, each of the two brothers endeavouring to assure himself of the crown by the death of his rival. Cyrus killed his brother's horse, and wounded him on the ground; but he immediately mounted another, when Cyrus attacked him again, and gave him a second wound, and had already lifted up his hand to strike the decisive blow, when the guards discharged their arrows, aiming at him alone; and he at the same time throwing himself headlong upon the king, was run through by his javelin, and pierced with innumerable arrows. He fell dead upon the spot; and all the chief lords of his court, resolving

*The battle
of Cunaxa.*

*Cyrus
wounds the
king.*

*But is slain
with all his
friends.*

^a Xenoph. & Plutarch. *ibid.*

Yr. of Fl.
1947.
Ante Chr.
401.

*The camp
of the
Greeks
plundered
by Artax-
erxes.*

*Their noble
retreat.*

not to survive their master, were killed in the place where he fell; a certain proof, says Xenophon, that he knew how to chuse his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Some writers tell us that Cyrus was killed by a Carian soldier. Mithridates, a young Persian nobleman, boasted that he had given the mortal blow with his javelin, which entered his temples, and pierced his head quite through. Artaxerxes, after having caused his head and right hand to be cut off, pursued the enemy to their camp, and there possessed himself of great part of their baggage and provisions. The Greeks had defeated the king's left wing, commanded by Tissaphernes; and the king's right wing, commanded by himself, had routed the enemy's left; and as neither knew what had happened elsewhere, both parties believed they had gained the day; but Tissaphernes acquainting the king that his men had been put to flight by the Greeks, he immediately rallied his troops, in order to attack them. The Greeks, under the command of Clearchus, easily repulsed them, and pursued them to the neighbouring hills. Night drawing near the Greeks halted at the foot of the hill, much surprised that neither Cyrus himself nor any messenger from him appeared; for they yet knew nothing of his death, or the defeat of the rest of the army. They determined therefore to return to their camp. There they found that the greatest part of their baggage had been plundered, and all their provisions taken; so that they were obliged to pass the night in the camp, without any sort of refreshment. Next morning, as they were still expecting to hear from Cyrus, they received the news of his death, and the defeat of that part of the army: then they sent deputies to Ariæus, who had retired to the place whence they had marched the day before the action, offering him as conquerors, the crown of Persia in the room of Cyrus. Ariæus rejected the offer, and acquainted them that he intended to set out early next morning on his return to Ionia, advising them to join him in the night. They followed his directions, under the conduct of Clearchus began their march, and arrived at his camp about midnight, whence they set out on their return to Greece*. They were at a vast distance from their own country, in the heart of the Persian empire, surrounded by a nu-

* Xenoph. lib. i. p. 272—292. Diod. lib. xiv. p. 255—257. Plutarch. in Pericl. & Artax. Diog. Laert. in Vita Xenoph. Justin. lib. v. cap. 11.

merous and conquering army, and had no means of returning to Greece, but by forcing their way through an immense tract of the enemy's country. Their valour and resolution surmounted all these difficulties, and, in the face of a powerful army, which continually pursued and harassed them, they made a retreat of two thousand thrée hundred and twenty-five miles, through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got safe to the Greek cities on the Euxine Sea. This was the longest march, and most memorable retreat that was ever made through an enemy's country. Clearchus had the conduct of it first; but he being cut off by the treachery of Tissaphernes, Xenophon was chosen in his room; and to his valour and wisdom it was owing that at length they reached Greece. As the same Xenophon has given a minute account of this expedition, and the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, from the place of the battle to their own country, we shall find a more proper place to mention it, and return to what passed in the court of Artaxerxes after the battle of Cunaxa.

Under Xenophon.

As the king believed he had killed Cyrus with his own hand, and looked upon it as the most glorious action of his life, to dispute that honour with him, was wounding him in the most tender part. Being therefore informed that the Carian soldier, whom we have mentioned above, laid claim to that glory, he caused him to be delivered to Parysatis, who had sworn the destruction of all those who were any ways concerned in the death of her son. She accordingly made that unhappy wretch suffer the most exquisite torments she could invent, during ten days, and then put him to a most cruel death. Mithridates, likewise, having boasted that it was he who gave Cyrus his mortal wound, was treated in the manner we have described, where we spoke of the punishments used among the Persians. Masabates, one of the king's eunuchs, who, by his order, had cut off the head and hand of Cyrus, being delivered to Parysatis, was flayed alive, and his skin stretched before his eyes, upon two stakes prepared for that purpose. Nor did the cruelty and resentment of Parysatis stop here; for, having conceived an implacable hatred against Statira, for reproaching her, as if she had countenanced her son Cyrus's revolt against his brother, that revengeful woman poisoned her own daughter-in-law in the following manner. Parysatis, feigning to be reconciled to her, invited her one night to supper; and a certain bird being served up, which was a great rarity among the Persians, she divided it between Statira and herself

Parysatis becomes the king's bloody executioner.

Statira poisoned by her.

herself with a knife which was poisoned on one side only: the sound part Parysatis immediately eat, which encouraging Statira, though upon her guard, to eat the other, she was seized with convulsions, and died in a few hours. Artaxerxes, being greatly afflicted for the loss of his beloved wife, and suspecting his mother, caused all her domestics to be put to the rack, when Gygis, one of her confidants, discovered the whole scene. Artaxerxes then caused Gygis, who was privy to the crime, to be put to a cruel death; and confined his mother to Babylon, telling her, that he would never enter the gates of the city while she was there; but, at length, time having alleviated his grief, he allowed her to return to court, where, by an entire submission to his will, she regained his favour, and bore a great sway at court as long as she lived ^p.

*Parysatis
confined to
Babylon.*

Reconciled.

*Tissaphernes
op-
presses the
Greeks.*

*The Lacedæmonians
make war
upon the
Persians.*

*Yr. of Fl.
1948.
Ante Chr.
400.*

*Dercyllidas
succeeds
against Tis-
saphernes.*

After the death of Cyrus, Tissaphernes being sent back to his former government, and also invested with the same power which had been given to Cyrus, he began to harass and oppress the Greek cities that were within the verge of his authority, and had sided with that unfortunate prince. In this emergency they sent ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians, imploring their assistance and protection. The Lacedæmonians having now ended the long war, which they had waged with the Athenians, laid hold of this opportunity of breaking again with the Persians, and sent Thimbro with an army against them, which being strengthened by the conjunction of those forces that Xenophon brought back from Persia, they took the field against Tissaphernes; but Thimbro being soon recalled, upon some complaints, and sent into banishment, Dercyllidas was appointed to succeed him in the command. As he was both a brave general, and a famous engineer, he was attended with far better success than that of his predecessor. Upon his first arrival, finding that Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, governors of the two neighbouring provinces, were at variance with each other, he made a truce with the former; and marching against the latter with all his forces, drove him quite out of Æolis, and several cities of other provinces. Pharnabazus, fearing he might invade Phrygia, the chief province of his government, was glad to make a truce with him, leaving him in possession of what he had taken. Upon this cessation he marched into Bithynia, where he took up his winter quar-

^p Plutarch in Artaxerx.

ters,

ters, to avoid being chargeable to his allies. At the same time Pharnabazus repaired to the Persian court, and there made loud complaints against Tissaphernes, for having concluded a peace with Dercyllidas, instead of assisting him against the common enemy. He likewise earnestly pressed the king to equip a great fleet, and appoint Conon, the Athenian, then an exile in Cyprus, admiral; telling him, that as Conon was the best sea-commander of his time, he might, by that appointment, obstruct the passage of all farther recruits from Greece, and soon put an end to the power of the Lacedæmonians in Asia. His proposal was approved of by the king, who immediately ordered five hundred talents to be paid him for the equipment of a fleet, with instructions to give the command of it to Conon.

A Persian fleet put under Conon's command.

In the mean time Dercyllidas, having reduced Atarna, marched into Caria, where Tissaphernes usually resided; for the Lacedæmonians, believing that, if he were attacked there, he would comply with all their demands, in order to save that province, had sent Dercyllidas orders to march thither. This circumstance Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus no sooner heard, than they united against Dercyllidas, whom they came up with in so disadvantageous a post, that, had they charged him immediately, he must inevitably have perished. Pharnabazus was for attacking him, but Tissaphernes, who, at the battle of Cunaxa, had experienced their valour, could not be brought to venture an engagement, but sent heralds to Dercyllidas to invite him to a parley, in which proposals for a peace being offered on both sides, they made a truce until the answer of their respective masters should be known. Thus Dercyllidas and his army were saved from utter destruction, through the cowardice of his enemy.

Dercyllidas's narrow escape.

The Lacedæmonians receiving accounts from Asia, that the king of Persia was equipping a powerful fleet on the coasts of Phœnice, Syria, and Cilicia, and supposing it to be designed, as it truly was, against them, resolved to send Agesilaus, one of their kings, into Asia, in order to make a diversion. All things being ready for this expedition, Agesilaus set sail with a considerable body of troops, and arrived at Ephesus before any of the king's officers had the least intimation of this design: with such secrecy and expedition was the whole managed at Sparta.

Yr. of Fl. 1952. Ante Chr. 396.

Agesilaus passes into Asia.

q Diod. lib. xvi. p. 417. Justin. lib. vi. cap. 8. Pausan. in Atticis. Diod. lib. xiv. Xenoph. Hellen. lib. iii. & Orat. de Agesil. Æmil. Prob.

*His army
and succeeds
there.*

*Over-
reached by
Tiffa-
phernes.*

*His noble
message to
him.*

*Success in
Phrygia.*

*Outwits
Tiffa-
phernes.*

Agefilaus, upon his arrival, took the field with ten thousand foot and four thousand horse; and finding no body in a condition to oppose, carried all before him. Tiffaphernes sending a messenger to inquire for what end he was come into Asia, and why he had taken up arms, Agefilaus replied, that he was come to assist the Greeks inhabiting Asia, and restore them to their ancient liberty. Tiffaphernes being quite unprepared for war, assured Agefilaus, that his master would grant him what he demanded, provided he committed no acts of hostility till the return of an express he had sent to court. Agefilaus believing him, a truce was agreed upon, and sworn to on both sides; but Tiffaphernes, without any regard to his oath, made no other use of this truce than to assemble troops on all sides; and sent to the king for more forces: as soon as he received them he sent word to Agefilaus to depart from Asra, denouncing war against him, in case of refusal. This message greatly alarmed the Lacedæmonians and their confederates, as not believing themselves in a condition to oppose the now numerous army of Tiffaphernes, who had been joined by auxiliaries from all parts of the Persian empire. As for Agefilaus himself, he heard the heralds with a gay and easy air; and desired them to tell their master, that he was under great obligations to him for having made the gods, by his perjury, enemies to Persia, and friends to Greece. Having with this answer dismissed the heralds, he drew all his forces together, and made a feint, as if he intended to invade Caria; but, as soon as he understood that Tiffaphernes had caused all his troops to march into that province, he turned short and fell upon Phrygia. As his arrival was wholly unexpected, he over-run great part of the province without any opposition, took many towns, and, loaded with an immense booty, marched back by the sea-coast into Ionia, and wintered at Ephesus*.

Early in the spring Agefilaus took the field, and gave out that his design was to invade Lydia; but Tiffaphernes, who had not forgot the stratagem of the former campaign, took it for granted that he now truly intended to fall upon Caria, and accordingly made his troops march to the defence of that province: but Agefilaus led his army, as he had given out, into Lydia, and approached Sardis. Tiffaphernes immediately recalled his forces from their former route, with a design to relieve the place; but Caria,

* Xenoph. Hellen. lib. iii. Plut. in Agefilao. Pausan. in Laconic, being

being a very mountainous country, and unfit for horse, he had marched thither only with the foot, and left the horse behind on the borders of the province; whence, on their marching back to the relief of Sardis, the horse being some days march before the foot, Agesilaus took the advantage of so favourable an opportunity, and fell upon them before the infantry came up to their assistance. The Persians were routed at the very first onset, and Agesilaus, becoming, by this victory, master of the field, over-run the whole country, and enriched both himself and his army with the spoils of the conquered Persians.

*Defeats
the Per-
sians.*

The loss of this battle greatly incensed the king against Tissaphernes, and increased the suspicion he had before conceived of him, as if he had something else in view than his master's interest. At the same time Conon, arriving at the Persian court, heightened the king's displeasure with new complaints against that governor; for he had deprived the soldiers on board Conon's fleet of their pay, and thereby disabled him from doing the king any service. Queen Parysatis, actuated by an irreconcilable hatred against all those who had any share in the death of her son Cyrus, did not fail, on this occasion, to aggravate the charges brought against Tissaphernes. Thus instigated, the king resolved to put him to death; but being afraid to attack him openly, by reason of the great authority he had in Asia, he charged Tithraustes, captain of the guards, with that important commission, giving him, at the same time two letters, one directed to Tissaphernes, empowering him to pursue the war with the Greeks in what manner he thought best; and the other was addressed to Ariæus, governor of Larissa, commanding him to assist Tithraustes with his counsel and all his forces in seizing Tissaphernes. Upon the receipt of this letter, Ariæus desired Tissaphernes to come to him, that they might confer together about the operations of the ensuing campaign. Tissaphernes, who suspected nothing, went to him with a guard only of three hundred men; but while he was bathing, according to the Persian custom, and disarmed, he was seized and put into the hands of Tithraustes, who caused his head to be struck off and sent into Persia. The king gave it to Parysatis; an acceptable present to one of her revengeful temper.

*Tissa-
phernes
accused by
Conon,*

*and put to
death.*

* Xenoph. *ibid.* p. 501—657. Plut. in Artaxer. p. 1022. & in Agesil. p. 601. * Xenoph. *ubi supra.* Diod. lib. xiv. p. 220. Polyæn. *Stratag.* lib. vii.

Upon the death of Tissaphernes, Tithraustes, who was appointed to succeed him, sent great presents to Agesilaus, telling him, that the cause of the war being removed, and the first author of all their differences put to death, nothing could prevent an accommodation: that the king his master would allow the Greek cities in Asia to enjoy their liberty, paying him the customary tribute; which was all that the Lacedæmonians required, when they first began the war. Agesilaus replied, that he could not come to any agreement without orders from Sparta; however, as he was willing to give Tithraustes the satisfaction of removing out of his province, he marched into Phrygia, which was the province of Pharnabazus, Tithraustes paying him thirty talents to defray the charges of his march. In his route he received a letter from the magistrates of Sparta, giving him the command of the fleet, as well as of the land-forces. By this new commission, he was appointed sole commander of all the troops in Asia, both by sea and land. This new charge drew him down to the sea-coast, where he put the fleet in good order, and appointed Pisander, his wife's brother, admiral, ordering him forthwith to put to sea. On this occasion, he was more influenced by private affection for his brother-in-law, than by the due regard he ought to have had for the public good; for though Pisander was a man of great courage and valour, yet he was not in other respects equal to that trust, as the event sufficiently proved *.

Agesilaus made chief commander by sea and land.

His success against the Persians.

Dascylium taken.

Agesilaus, having settled the maritime affairs, pursued his design of invading Phrygia, where he reduced many cities, and amassed great sums of money, maintaining his army on the territories of Pharnabazus, in great affluence. From thence he marched into Paphlagonia, invited thither by Spithridates, a noble Persian, who had revolted from the king: there he concluded a league with Cotys, king of that country, and returning into Phrygia took the strong city of Dascylium, and wintered there in the palace of Pharnabazus, obliging the adjacent countries to supply his army with all sorts of provisions †. Tithraustes, finding that Agesilaus was for carrying on the war in Asia, sent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece, with large sums of money, to corrupt the leading men in their cities, and rekindle a war against the Lacedæmonians. This stratagem produced the intended effect; for

* Pausan. in Laconicis. Xen. & Plat. ubi supra.
Agesil. Xen. Hellen. lib. iv. p. 507, 510.

† Plut.

the cities of Thebes, Argos, Corinth, and others, entering into a confederacy, obliged the Lacedæmonians to recall their king, as we shall see in its proper place. In the beginning of the next spring, as Agesilaus was ready to take the field, Pharnabazus invited him to an interview; and he accepting the invitation, the Persian, after having expatiated on the services he had done the Lacedæmonians in their war with the Athenians, reproached them with ingratitude in the bitterest terms, since, in return for so many favours, they had pillaged his palace, and ravaged his lands at Dascylium, which were his hereditary estate. As what he had said was true, Agesilaus, and the Lacedæmonians that attended him, were to such a degree ashamed, in seeing themselves so justly upbraided with ingratitude, that they knew not what to answer, nor how to excuse such ungenerous conduct; however to make him the best amends they could, they obliged themselves by a solemn promise, not to invade any of the provinces under his government, while there were others into which they might carry the war against the Persian king. They fulfilled their engagement; and immediately withdrew, with a design to invade the upper parts of Asia, and prosecute the war in the very heart of the Persian empire. But while Agesilaus was projecting this expedition, a messenger arrived at the camp from Sparta, acquainting him, that the Ephori recalled him, to defend his own country, against which several states of Greece had formed a strong confederacy; he readily complied with this order, and made all the haste thither he could, but complained at his departure, that the Persians had driven him out of Asia, with thirty thousand archers, aluding to the Persian Darics, which were pieces of gold, stamped on one side with the figure of an archer^z.

His interview with Pharnabazus.

Yr. of Fl.
1954.
Ante Chr.
394.

Agesilaus recalled. His bitter sarcasm against the Greeks.

Conon, on his return from the Persian court, having brought money enough to pay the soldiers and mariners their arrears, and supply the fleet with arms and provisions, took Pharnabazus on board, and forthwith set sail in quest of the enemy. The Persian fleet consisted of ninety vessels and upwards; that of the Lacedæmonians was not so numerous, but their ships were larger. They came in view of each other near Cnidos, a maritime city of Asia Minor. Conon, who had, in some measure, occasioned the taking of Athens, by losing the sea-fight at

^z Xen. ubi supra, p. 513. Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon. & Artax.

The Lacedæmonians defeated at Cnidos.

Conon and Pharnabazus's success against the Asiatic islands.

Ægospotamos, or the Goat's-River, was determined to use his utmost efforts, in order to retrieve that misfortune, and efface, by a glorious victory, the disgrace of his former defeat. On the other hand, Pisander was desirous to justify, by his conduct and valour, the choice which Agesilaus his brother-in-law had made in appointing him admiral. In effect, he behaved with extraordinary courage, and had at first some advantage. But Conon having boarded his ship, and killed him with his own hand, the rest of the fleet betook themselves to flight. Conon pursued them, took fifty of their ships, and, having gained a complete victory, put an end to the power of the Lacedæmonians in those parts^a. After this victory, Conon and Pharnabazus, being masters at sea, sailed round the islands and coasts of Asia, reducing the cities, which, in those parts, were subject to the Lacedæmonians. Sifstus and Abydus were the only two cities that held out against them. Pharnabazus attacked them by land, and Conon by sea; but neither succeeding in the attempt, the former, on the approach of winter, retired home; leaving Conon to take care of the fleet, and reinforce it with as many ships as he could assemble from the cities on the Hellespont, against the ensuing spring^b. Conon having assembled, pursuant to his commission, a powerful fleet, by the time appointed, took Pharnabazus again on board, and steering his course through the islands, landed in Melos, the most distant of them all. Having reduced this island, as lying very convenient for invading Laconia, the country of the Lacedæmonians, he made from thence a descent on the coasts of that province, pillaged all the maritime places, and loaded his fleet with an immense booty. After this exploit, Pharnabazus returning to his government of Phrygia, Conon obtained leave of him to repair to Athens with eighty ships, and fifty talents, in order to rebuild the wall of that city.

Antalcidas sent to make peace with Artaxerxes.

The Lacedæmonians could not behold, without great concern, so glorious a revolution. Finding themselves unable to maintain a war with men as brave as themselves, assisted with the treasures of Persia, they dispatched Antalcidas, one of their citizens, to Tiribazus, governor of Sardis, enjoining him to conclude a peace with Artaxerxes upon the most advantageous terms he could obtain.

^a Xenoph. ubi supra, p. 518. Diod. lib. xiv. p. 308. Justin. lib. vi. cap. 2, 3. ^b Emil. Prob. in Conon. ^b Xenoph. ubi supra, p. 534. Diod. lib. xiv. p. 441. Emil. Prob. ibid. Plut. in Agesil. Justin. lib. vi. cap. 5.

The other cities of Greece, in alliance with the Athenians, sent at the same time their deputies; and Conon was at the head of those from Athens. The terms which Antalcidas proposed, were, that the king should possess all the Greek cities in Asia; but the islands, and other cities in Greece, should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. As these proposals were very advantageous to the king, and dishonourable to the Greeks in general, the other ambassadors were all unanimous in rejecting them. The Lacedæmonians having an implacable hatred to Conon, for restoring Athens, had charged Antalcidas to accuse him to Tiribazus, of having purloined the king's money for carrying on that work, and of having formed a design for the taking Æolis and Ionia from the Persians, and uniting them a-new to the republic of Athens. Upon these accusations, Tiribazus seized him; and, having supplied the Lacedæmonians privately with considerable sums of money, for the equipment of a fleet against the Athenians, set out for the Persian court, to give the king an account of his negotiations. Artaxerxes was well pleased with the terms, which the Lacedæmonians had proposed, and directed him to put the last hand to the treaty. At the same time Tiribazus laid before the king the accusations which the Lacedæmonians had brought against Conon; in consequence of which he was, according to some writers^c, sent to Susa, and there put to death by the king's command; but the silence of Xenophon, who was his contemporary, as to his death, makes us doubt of the truth of this event.

Conon accused and disgraced.

While Tiribazus attended the court, Suthras was charged to guard the coasts of Asia in his absence. On this occasion, observing the havoc which the Lacedæmonians had made in all the maritime provinces, he conceived such an aversion to them, that he sent what supplies he could spare to their enemies the Athenians. This conduct obliged the Lacedæmonians to send Thimbro into Asia, to renew the war there; but as they were not in a condition to supply him with men or money sufficient for such an undertaking, he was soon cut off, and his army dispersed by the superior power of the Persians. Dephri-das was sent in his room to carry on the war with the scattered remains of his army; but was attended with no better success, all their attempts upon Asia, after the battle of Cnidus, being but faint struggles of a declining

Tiribazus assists the Athenians.

^c Cornel. Nep. in Conone.

Yr. of Fl.
1955.
Ante Chr.
393.

*The peace
of Antalcidas.*

power. In the mean time Tiribazus returning from Susa, summoned all the deputies of the Greek cities to be present at the reading of the treaty, which had been already approved of by the king. The terms were, that all the Greek cities of Asia should be subject to the king of Persia, and also the islands of Cyprus and Clazomena; that the islands of Scyros, Lemnos, and Imbros, should be restored to the Athenians; and the cities of Greece, without exception, should be declared free. By the same treaty, Artaxerxes engaged to join those who had accepted the terms he proposed, and assist them to the utmost of his power, against such as should reject the articles. These conditions were equally disadvantageous and dishonourable to the Grecian name; however, as Greece was extremely weakened and exhausted by domestic divisions, and therefore not in a condition to carry on a war against so powerful a prince, they were all forced to swear to the treaty. This is called the peace of Antalcidas; for he was the first that proposed it; giving up to the Persians, with the utmost injustice and baseness, all the Greeks settled in Asia, for whose liberty Agesilaus had so long contended^d.

*Artaxerxes
bends
all his
forces
against
Euagoras.*

Artaxerxes, being now quite disengaged from the Grecian war, turned his whole power against Euagoras king of Cyprus, whom he had long before designed to expel from that island; but had never been at leisure to put his design in execution. Euagoras was descended from the ancient kings of Salamine, the capital city of the island of Cyprus. His ancestors had held that city for many ages, in quality of sovereigns; but were at last expelled by the Persians, who, making themselves masters of the whole island, reduced it to a Persian province. Euagoras, who was a man of extraordinary parts, not brooking to live in subjection to a foreign yoke, expelled Abdymon, a Citian, governor of Salamine for the king of Persia, and took possession of his paternal kingdom. Artaxerxes attempted to recover that city; but, being diverted by the Greek war, and finding Euagoras determined to hold out to the last, gave over, or rather put off, that enterprize. In the mean time Conon, by means of Ctesias the Cnidian, who was chief physician to Artaxerxes, made up all differences between Euagoras and Artaxerxes; the latter

^d Xenoph. lib. iv. p. 548—551. Diod. ubi supra, p. 447. Plut. in Agesil. & Apophthegm. Laconic. Justin. lib. iv. cap. 5. Æmil. Prob. in Conone.

promising

promising not to molest him in the possession of his small kingdom; but Euagoras, who was every way qualified for great undertakings, could not content himself with the city of Salamine. He extended his dominions, and by degrees made himself master, in a great measure of the island of Cyprus. The Arthufians, Solians, and Citians, only, of all those islanders, held out against him. These had recourse to Artaxerxes, who, becoming jealous of the power of this active and wise prince, promised them an immediate and powerful support; but, being employed elsewhere, he could not perform his promise so soon as he intended. Having at length concluded a peace with the Greeks, he bent all his force against Euagoras. The Athenians, notwithstanding the treaty of peace lately made with the Persians, and the many favours received from that monarch, could not forbear assisting their old ally, who had befriended them on all occasions. Having therefore equipped ten ships of war, they sent them, with all possible expedition, under the command of Philocrates to his assistance; but the Lacedæmonian fleet, commanded by Telautias, brother to Agesilaus, falling in with them near the isle of Rhodes, surrounded them, so that not one ship could escape *. The Athenians determined to assist Euagoras at all adventures, sent Chabrias with another fleet, and a considerable number of land forces on board to join him. This new supply arrived safe, and, in a short time, obliged the whole island to submit to Euagoras. But the Athenians being forced, by the articles of a new treaty concluded between Artaxerxes and the cities of Greece, to recall Chabrias, the Persians attacked with all their forces, the island of Cyprus, not doubting but that they should soon reduce it, since no supplies could be sent thither from Greece. The king's army consisted of three hundred thousand men, and his fleet of three hundred ships. The land forces were commanded by Orontes, son-in-law to Artaxerxes, and the fleet by Gaus, the son of Tamus, whom we have formerly mentioned. Tiribazus was commander in chief, both of the sea and land forces. Euagoras, finding himself threatened with so dreadful a war, had recourse to all those princes who were at enmity with the Persians, receiving supplies both of men and money from the Egyptians, Libyans, Arabians, Tyrians, and other nations; besides, as he had amassed immense treasures, he hired a great num-

*Athenians
assist him
against the
Persians.*

*Defeated
by the La-
cedæmo-
nians.
Chabrias
sent a-
gainst
them, but
recalled.*

Yr. of Fl.
1962.
Ante Chr.
386.

*The Per-
sians in-
vade Cy-
prus with
three hun-
dred thou-
sand men.*

* Xenoph. ubi supra. Diod. lib. xv. p. 459.

ber of mercenaries of various nations. As he had about ninety ships, that is, seventy of his own, and twenty from Tyre, he constantly intercepted all the enemy's vessels that brought provisions from the continent; and thereby reduced their numerous army to such difficulties, after their landing in the island, that they began to mutiny, and killed several of their officers; but, the whole Persian fleet putting to sea, the army was again plentifully supplied from Cilicia. At the same time Euagoras likewise received a great supply of corn, and fifty ships from Egypt, which, together with those he had already, and sixty more which he caused to be fitted out with all speed, making up a fleet of two hundred sail, he advanced to attack the whole naval force of the Persians. At first he had the advantage, and took, or destroyed, several of the enemies ships; but Gaus, advancing with a fresh squadron, fell upon him with such vigour, that Euagoras was obliged to retire, after an obstinate resistance. The rest of the Persian ships, encouraged by the example of their admiral, returned to the charge, and at last obtained a complete victory, driving the enemy into their harbours. Euagoras, with a few ships, escaped to Salamine, where he was immediately closely besieged both by land and sea. After this victory, Tiribazus went in person to acquaint the king with the success that attended his arms in Cyprus; and, having obtained two thousand talents for the use of the army, he returned with that new supply, to carry on the war more vigorously than ever. During his absence, Euagoras, leaving the defence of the city to his son Pythagoras, penetrated through the enemies fleet in the dead of the night, with ten ships, and sailed for Egypt, in hopes of engaging Achoris, king of that country, to join him with all his forces; but, not obtaining from him the aid he expected, and finding on his return, the city reduced to the last extremities, and himself destitute of all means of raising the siege, he was obliged to capitulate. The proposals made to him were, that he should abandon all the cities of Cyprus, except Salamine, which he should hold of the king, as a servant of his lord. The extremity to which he was reduced, obliged him to accept the other conditions; but he could by no means be brought to consent to that of holding Salamine, as a servant under his master, and persisted in declaring, that he would hold it no otherwise than as a king under a king. Tiribazus, who commanded in chief, was inflexible, and would not make the least alteration, nor abate

*Euagoras
defeated at
sea.*

*Salamine
besieged by
sea and
land.*

Yr. of Fl.
1961.
Ante Chr.
385.

*Euagoras
offers to ca-
pitulate.*

abate any thing of his pretensions; whereupon, Euagoras being determined to die sword in hand, rather than yield to such terms, broke off the conference, and applied himself entirely to the defence of the city ^f.

In the mean time Orontes, who commanded the land forces, not being able to brook the superiority which Tiribazus had over him, as being entrusted with the whole management of the war, and jealous of his success, wrote secretly to the court, accusing him, among other things, of forming designs against the king's interest, and holding a private correspondence with the Lacedæmonians. Upon the receipt of these letters, Artaxerxes immediately dispatched orders to Orontes to seize Tiribazus, and send him prisoner to court; which order being, without delay, put in execution, the chief command was conferred upon Orontes. This new general finding the army ready to mutiny under his command, made haste to conclude a treaty with Euagoras upon the terms which Tiribazus had rejected, viz. That he should hold Salamine as king of that city, paying only a small tribute to the king of Persia. Thus the siege was raised, and a peace concluded with Euagoras, after a war which had cost the Persians fifty thousand talents, that is, near ten millions of our money. For the elogy and character of this prince, we refer the reader to Isocrates ^g.

*Obtains
a better
treaty from
Orontes.*

The peace concluded with Euagoras did not put an end to the war in those parts; for Gaus, resenting the injustice done to Tiribazus, whose daughter he had married, sent deputies to Achoris, king of Egypt; and having concluded an alliance with him against the king of Persia, openly revolted, and was joined by a great part both of the fleet and army, most of the officers being entirely at his devotion. He likewise solicited the Lacedæmonians to come into the league, assuring them, that he, in his turn, would at the end of the war employ all his forces in their favour, and make them masters of all Greece. They hearkened favourably to these proposals, and embraced with joy such an opportunity of making war upon the Persians, being highly dissatisfied with the peace of Antalcidas. But before matters were ripe for execution, Gaus was treacherously slain by one of his officers; and Taches, who took upon him to carry on the same design, died soon after; so that the vast preparations they had

*Gaus re-
volts.*

Is killed.

^f Diod. lib. xv. p. 459, & seq.
ubi supra.

^g Isocrat. in Euagor. Diod.

made were rendered useless; and the Lacedæmonians never afterwards interfered with the affairs of Asia¹.

Artaxerxes' ill success against the Cadusians.

Yr. of Fl.
1964.
Ante Chr.
394.

Tiribazus saves him and his army.

Over-reaches the two Cadusian kings.

Tiribazus acquitted and in high favour.

Artaxerxes had no sooner finished the Cyprian war, than he entered upon another against the Cadusians, who probably had revolted from him. This people inhabited the mountains between the Euxine and Caspian Seas; and being inured to a hard and laborious life, were accounted a very warlike race¹. The king marched in person against them, at the head of three hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse; but the country, on account of its barrenness, not affording provisions sufficient to maintain so numerous an army, they were soon reduced to feed upon the beasts of burden which accompanied the army; and these became so scarce, that an ass's head was sold for sixty drachmas. The king's provisions too began to fall short, and only a few horses remained. In this emergency, Tiribazus contrived a stratagem, which saved the king and his army. He followed the court in this expedition, or rather was carried about as a prisoner, being in disgrace, occasioned by crimes laid to his charge by Orontes, as we have said before. The Cadusians had two kings, who were encamped apart from each other. Tiribazus, who took care to be informed of all that passed in the enemy's camp, found that there was some misunderstanding between them; and that the jealousy and mistrust which they had of each other, prevented their acting in concert. He therefore advised the king to enter into a treaty with them; and taking upon himself the whole management of it, went in person to one of the kings, and sent his son to the other. Each of them informed the king to whom he applied, that the other had sent ambassadors to treat separately with Artaxerxes, and advised him to lose no time, but make his peace as soon as possible, that the conditions might be the more advantageous. Their negotiations had the desired effect, and both princes were brought separately to submit to the king. Thus both he and his army were saved from destruction.

On the king's return to Susa, the eminent service which Tiribazus had done him in that expedition, inclined him to have his cause thoroughly examined, and to grant him a fair hearing. For that purpose he appointed three commissioners, who were all of eminent rank, and distinguished probity; these, after an impartial discussion of the whole affair, were unanimous in declaring him innocent;

¹ Diod. lib. xv.

² Strabo. lib. xi. p. 507—510.

in consequence of which sentence, he was by the king restored to his former honours, and Orontes his accuser banished the court^k.

Artaxerxes, being now at leisure from all other engagements, resolved to reduce the Egyptians, who had long before shaken off the Persian yoke, and accordingly made great preparations for that war. Achoris, who then reigned in Egypt, foreseeing the storm, was not wanting on his side to provide against it the best he could. He joined a great number of Greeks and other mercenaries, under the command of Chabrias the Athenian, to his own subjects. Pharnabazus, being charged with the management of this war, sent ambassadors to Athens, complaining of Chabrias for engaging to serve against the king of Persia, with whom the state of Athens lived in amity, and threatening the republic with his master's resentment, if he were not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time Iphicrates, another Athenian, and the best general of his time, to command the Greek mercenaries in the Persian service. The Athenians, who had then a great dependence on the Persian king's friendship, to support them against their domestic enemies, recalled Chabrias, ordering him to repair to Athens, on pain of death, by a certain day; and Iphicrates was sent to take upon him the command of the Greek mercenaries in the Persian army. This general, on his arrival, having mustered the forces he was to command, he so exercised them in all the arts of war, that they became very famous among the Greeks, under the name of Iphicratean soldiers: and indeed he had time enough to instruct them before they entered upon action; for the Persians being very slow in their preparations, two whole years elapsed before they were in a condition to take the field. Achoris, king of Egypt, died in the mean time, and was succeeded by Psammuthis, who reigned only one year. After him Nephrotes reigned four months; and then Nectanebus, the first of the Sebennytic race, swayed the sceptre twelve years^l.

Artaxerxes, that he might draw more auxiliaries out of Greece for his Egyptian war, sent ambassadors thither to put an end to their domestic broils; and declare, in his name, to the different states and cities of that country, that it was his pleasure, that they should live in peace with each other, upon the terms of the treaty of Antal-

Artaxerxes renews the war with Egypt.

Iphicrates' excellent discipline.

Achoris dies in Egypt.

^k Diod. lib. xv. p. 463.

^l Euseb. Chron. Syncel. p. 257.

cidas; and that, all garrisons being withdrawn, each city should be left to enjoy its liberty, and live according to its own laws. This declaration was received with pleasure by all the cities of Greece, except the Thebans, who, aspiring to the empire of all Greece, refused to conform^m.

His unsuccessful expedition against Egypt.

Yr. of Fl.
1973.
Ante Chr.
375¹

The Mendesian fort taken.

Iphicrates' proposal of attacking Memphis rejected.

At length all things being in a readiness for the invasion of Egypt, the Persian army was assembled at Ace, since called Ptolemais, the place of the general rendezvous. There, in a review, the army was found to consist of two hundred thousand Persians, under the command of Pharnabazus; and twenty thousand Greeks, under Iphicrates. Their forces by sea were in proportion to those by land; for their fleet consisted of three hundred galleys, besides an incredible number of vessels that followed, to furnish both the fleet and the army with necessary provisions. The army and fleet began to move at the same time; and that they might act in concert, they separated as little as possible. The war was to begin with the siege of Pelusium; but Nectanebus, having had sufficient time to provide for the defence of that place, had rendered the approach to it impracticable, both by sea and land. The fleet, therefore, instead of making a descent, as had been at first projected, failed from thence to the Mendesian mouth of the Nile; for the river, at that time, emptied itself into the sea, by seven different channels, and each of these was defended by a fort and a strong garrison: but the Mendesian mouth of the Nile not being so well fortified at the Pelusian, where the enemy was expected, they landed the forces there without great opposition, carried the fortrefs that guarded it, and put all the Egyptians that were found in it to the sword. After this action, Iphicrates was for re-embarking the troops, without loss of time, and attacking Memphis, the capital of Egypt. Had this opinion been followed, before the Egyptians recovered from the consternation which so formidable an invasion, and the blow already received, had thrown them into, they would have found the place without any defence, and must have certainly taken it, and re-conquered all Egypt. But the main body of the army not being yet come up, Pharnabazus would undertake nothing before their arrival. Iphicrates, in the utmost despair, to see so favourable an opportunity lost, which perhaps might never be retrieved, made pressing instances for leave to attempt the place,

^m Diod. lib. xv. p. 478.

with the mercenaries only that were under his command: but Pharnabazus, from a mean jealousy of the honour that would redound to Iphicrates, should he succeed in the enterprize, would by no means hearken to his proposal. This delay gave the Egyptians time to recover their courage, and put themselves in a condition to oppose any farther attempts, as we have related elsewhere. Thus ended this war, which had cost immense sums, two whole years having been spent in making the necessary preparations for so fruitless an attempt. The only effect it produced, was an irreconcilable enmity between the two generals; for, Pharnabazus, in order to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of the miscarriage upon Iphicrates; and he, with more reason, recriminated upon Pharnabazus; but, being well apprised, that Pharnabazus would find more credit at the Persian court than he, and remembering what had happened to Conon, that he might not meet with the like fate, he privately hired a ship, and retired to Athens^a.

Iphicrates forced to return to Athens.

Twelve years after this expedition, Artaxerxes, who had not laid aside the thoughts of subjecting Egypt, notwithstanding his many miscarriages, began to make new preparations for invading that country. Tachos, who had succeeded Nectanebus, drew together all his forces, to defend himself against so powerful an enemy; but having marched out of Egypt into Phœnice, in order to attack the Persians there, the Egyptians revolted in his absence, and set up Nectanebus in his stead, who drove him quite out of Egypt.

The Egyptian war renewed.

Yr. of Fl.
1985.
Ante Chr.
363.

Towards the latter end of the reign of Artaxerxes, great disturbances arose in the Persian court, which was rent into factions by his sons, each making parties among the nobility, to support his pretensions to the crown. He had a hundred and fifteen sons by his concubines, and three by his queen, namely, Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus. To put a stop to these practices and contentions, he declared Darius, the elder, his successor; and, the better to settle him on the throne, allowed him to assume the title of king, and wear the tiara, even in his life-time; but these honours not contenting the young prince's ambition, who was also disgusted with his father, for refusing him one of his concubines, whom he demanded, he formed a design against the old king's life, and engaged in the con-

Artaxerxes declares Darius his successor, who conspires against him.

^a Diod. lib. xv. p. 478: & p. 397—401. Plut. in Agesil. p. 616. 618. Xenoph. Plut. & Corn. Nep. in Agesil.

*Tiribazus
joins in the
conspiracy.*

*They are
detected,
and put to
death.*

*Ochus rid-
himself of
his two
contending
brothers.*

*Artaxerxes
Mnemon
dies.*

*Yr. of Fl.
1989.
Ante Chr.
359.*

spiracy fifty of his brothers. Tiribazus, whom we have often mentioned in this history, contributed the most to his taking this unnatural resolution, and for a like subject of discontent. Artaxerxes had promised him in marriage one of his daughters; but, falling in love with her, married her himself; and, having afterwards promised Tiribazus another daughter, he married her also. These two disappointments provoked Tiribazus to such a degree, that, to revenge the affront, he stirred up the young king to that wicked attempt. The number of the conspirators was already very formidable, and the day fixed for the execution of their design; when an eunuch, who was privy to the plot, discovered it to the king; whereupon the conspirators were seized as they were entering the king's palace, and all put to death °.

Darius being thus cut off, the same contention was revived, which, before his being declared king, had produced so many different factions. Three of his brothers were competitors, Ariaspes, Ochus, and Arfames. The two first claimed the crown in right of their birth, being the king's sons by his queen; the third only by the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. Ochus, prompted by his restless ambition, found means to get rid of his two rivals; for Ariaspes being of an easy temper, and very credulous, he suborned the eunuchs of the palace to threaten him in such a manner, in the king's name, that, expecting every moment to be treated as Darius had been, he poisoned himself, to avoid a more cruel death. But, Arfames still remaining to rival him in his pretensions, and being, for his wisdom, and other princely virtues, in the opinion of his father, and all others, the most worthy of the crown, he caused him to be assassinated by Harpates, the son of Tiribazus. This loss, added to the former, and the wickedness which attended both, overwhelmed the king, who was then ninety-four years of age, with such grief, that, not being able to bear up against it, he died, in the forty-sixth year of his reign^p. He was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great clemency and justice; whence he was honoured, and his authority respected, throughout the whole empire. This character Ochus was sensible of, and well knew that it would be quite otherwise with him, the death of his two brothers having

° Plut. in Artaxer. Justin, lib. x. cap. 312.
p. 506. Plut. *ibid*.

^p Diod. lib. xv.

alienated

alienated the minds both of the nobility and people. To avoid the inconveniencies that might attend this general hatred and aversion, he prevailed with the eunuchs, and others that attended the king's person, to conceal his death; and took upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders, and issuing decrees, in the name of Artaxerxes, as if he had been still alive. By one of these decrees he caused himself, as by his father's order, to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire¹. After having thus governed near ten months, believing his authority sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and openly ascended the throne, taking the name of Artaxerxes. Historians, however, most frequently call him Ochus; and under this name we shall speak of him in the sequel of this History.

Ochus takes the name of Artaxerxes.

It was no sooner known that Artaxerxes was dead, and Ochus in possession of the throne, than all Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnice, and many other provinces, openly revolted. The chief men concerned in this revolt were, Ariobarzanes governor of Phrygia, Mausolus king of Caria, Orontes governor of Mytia, and Antophradates governor of Lydia. Datames likewise was engaged in the rebellion, being at that time governor of Cappadocia. By this, as it may be named, general insurrection, half the revenues of the empire were, on a sudden, diverted into different channels; and the remainder would not have been sufficient to carry on the war against so many revolters, had they acted in concert; but they did not long keep firm to each other; and those, who had been the first and most zealous in shaking off the yoke, strove who should soonest betray the others, and thereby make their peace with the king. The provinces of Asia Minor, on withdrawing their obedience, had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and chosen Orontes for their general. They had also resolved to add twenty thousand mercenaries to their own troops, and charged Orontes with the care of raising them; but, when he had a sufficient sum, both for raising those forces, and maintaining them for a year, he kept the money for himself, and delivered up to the king, those who had brought it to him from the revolted provinces. Rheomitres, another of the chiefs of Asia Minor, being sent into Egypt, to negotiate succours in that kingdom, was guilty of the like treachery; for, having brought from thence five hundred

A great number of provinces revolt from him.

Their leaders fall out among themselves and betray each other.

¹ Polyæn. Strateg. lib. vii.

*Datames
holds out a-
gainst O-
chus, and is
murdered.*

*Ochus'
bloody reign
and cha-
racter.*

Yr. of Fl.
1990.
Ante Chr.
358.

*Artabazus
revolls.*

talents, and fifty ships of war, and assembled the ring-leaders of the revolt at Leucas, a city of Asia Minor, under pretence of giving them an account of his negotiations, he seized them all, and made his peace with the king, by betraying them into his hands. Thus, this formidable revolt, which had brought the Persian empire to the very brink of ruin, was suppressed; and Ochus was, without striking a blow, settled on the throne^r. Only Datames, governor of Cappadocia, having possessed himself also of Paphlagonia, gave him much trouble. By what we read of him in Cornelius Nepos and Polyænus, it appears, that he maintained himself a long time in both these provinces; and was at last murdered by the treachery of Mithridates, one of his intimates.

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of that race in Persia; for he had not been long upon the throne, when he filled the palace, and the whole empire, with blood and slaughter. That the revolted provinces might have none of the blood-royal to set up against him, and to rid himself at once of all the uneasiness, which the princes of the royal family might give him, he put them all to death, without any regard to sex, age, or proximity of blood. He caused Ocha, his own sister and mother-in-law, for he had married her daughter, to be buried alive; and, having shut up one of his uncles, with a hundred of his sons and grand-sons, in a court of the palace, he ordered his archers to dispatch them with their arrows^s. This uncle seems to have been the father of Sisigambis, mother to Darius Codomannus; for Q. Curtius tells us, that Ochus caused eighty of her brothers, together with their father, to be massacred in one day^t. With the same barbarity he treated all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility, who betrayed the least mark of discontent or disaffection to his person.

But all the cruelties he practised could not keep his subjects in awe. Artabazus, governor of one of the Asiatic provinces, rebelled, and engaged Chares the Athenian to join him with a fleet and body of troops, which he commanded in those parts. Ochus sent an army of seventy thousand men against the rebels; but they were, by Chares, and his Athenians, cut in pieces. Artabazus, in

^r Diod. lib. xv. p. 504—506. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. vii.
^s Justin, lib. x. cap. 3. Val. Max. lib. ix. cap. 2. ^t Lib.
x. cap. 8.

reward of so great a service, gave Chares a sum of money sufficient to pay his fleet, and the forces he had on board. The king highly resented this conduct of the Athenians, and as they were then engaged in a war with the Chians, Rhodians, Coans, and Byzantines, threatened to join their enemies with a numerous fleet, if they did not recall Chares. The Athenians, fearing to provoke so powerful an enemy, ordered Chares to return forthwith into Greece^a.

Chares' success against Ochus.

Recalled.

Artabazus, being thus deserted by the Athenians, had recourse to the Thebans; who sent to his assistance a body of five thousand men, under the command of the brave Pammenes. With this reinforcement, Artabazus again took the field, and gained two very considerable victories over the king's forces; which greatly redounded to the honour of the Thebans and their commander. However, these made their peace soon after with the king, who having given them three hundred talents, they returned home. Artabazus, thus destitute of all support, was at last overcome, and forced to take refuge with Philip of Macedon.

Thebans' success against Ochus, and bought off.

This rebellion was scarce quelled, when several others broke out in divers parts of the empire. The Sidonians, and other Phœnicians, being oppressed by those the king had set over them, taking up arms, entered into a confederacy with Nectanebus king of Egypt; and, being assisted by that prince with four thousand Greek mercenaries, drove the Persians quite out of their territories^b.

The Phœnicians, &c. revolt.

The Cypriots, being likewise ill used by their Persian governors, and encouraged by this success of the Phœnicians, joined with them and the Egyptians in the same alliance^c. Hereupon Ochus dispatched his orders to Idriens king of Caria, injoining him to invade the island of Cyprus, and make war upon the inhabitants, putting all to fire and sword. Idriens, in compliance with this injunction, having equipped a fleet, sent it, with eight thousand Greek mercenaries, under the command of Phocion an Athenian, and Euagoras (P), to make a descent

Cypriots join in the revolt.

^a Diod. lib. xvi. p. 527, 528. ^b Idem, p. 531—533. ^c Diod. ubi supra, p. 532.

(P) Another Euagoras had he was succeeded by Nicocles formerly reigned in the city of his son; and this Euagoras Salamine, whom we have spoken of above. On his death Nicocles, and to have succeeded

*Salamine
besieged.*

*Ochus heads
a vast army
against the
revellers.*

*Phœnice
submits.*

*Judea re-
duced by
Ochus.*

scant in the island. The troops landed without any considerable opposition, and being reinforced with other bodies from Syria and Cilicia, besieged Salamine by sea and land ⁷.

Ochus, finding that his lieutenants made no progress against the Egyptians and Phœnicians, resolved to command his forces in person; and accordingly having drawn together a formidable army, he marched at the head of it into Phœnice, where the city of Sidon was betrayed to him by Mentor the Rhodian, and Tennes king of the place. The ruin and total destruction of Sidon, terrified the other cities of Phœnice to such a degree, that they all submitted to the conqueror; each of them making peace with the king upon the best terms they could obtain: neither was Ochus unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the designs he had upon Egypt ⁸.

But before he marched thither, his army received from Greece a reinforcement of ten thousand mercenaries; the Thebans sent him a thousand men under the command of Lachares, and the Argives supplied three thousand, commanded by Nicostratus: the rest joined him from the Greek cities of Asia. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians excused themselves, telling the king's ambassadors, that they should be glad to maintain peace and friendship with their master; but could not, at that time, spare him any succours. The Jews also seem to have been engaged in this revolt of Phœnice; for Ochus, from Sidon, marched into Judæa, where he besieged and took Jericho, carrying along with him into Egypt a great many captive Jews, and sending others into Hyrcania, where they were planted in

⁷ Diod. ubi supra.

⁸ Diod. lib. xvi. p. 531, 532, &c.

ceeded him in that kingdom; but, being driven out by Protagoras his uncle, was in banishment when this war began. He gladly joined the Persians, in hopes of recovering his crown; and the knowledge he had of the country, made him a very proper person to command in this expedition. Cy-

prus had then nine cities, and each of them had its king, but subject and tributary to the king of Persia. All these joined in this confederacy, with a design to shake off the Persian yoke, and make themselves independent each in his own city (1).

(1) Vide Diod. lib. xvi. p. 530.

the provinces bordering on the Caspian Sea ^a. Ochus at the same time put an end to the Cyprian war, by compromising matters with the nine Cyprian kings. Having his mind entirely bent on the conquest of Egypt, he willingly redressed all their grievances, and confirmed them in their respective governments ^b.

*Cypriots
make peace.*

Having thus settled the affairs both of Phœnice and Cyprus, he set out on his Egyptian expedition. On his march he lost a great many men, who were drowned in the lake Serbonis, which lies between Phœnice and Egypt, and extends about thirty miles. When the south wind blows, the whole surface of the water is covered with sand from the desert, in such manner, that no one can distinguish it from the firm land. Several parties of Ochus's army, for want of good guides, were lost in it; and we are told, that entire armies have there met with the same fate. When he arrived in the frontiers of Egypt, he detached three bodies to invade the country, each commanded by a Persian and Greek general. The first was led by Lachares the Theban, and Rosaces governor of Lydia and Ionia; the second by Nicostratus the Theban, and Aristazanes; the third by Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas one of his eunuchs. The main body of the army he kept with himself, and encamped near Pelusium, with design to watch there the events of the war: but, of the success that attended him in this expedition, comprehending the total and final reduction of Egypt, we have spoken in the history of that country.

Yr. of Fl.
1998.
Ante Chr.
350.

*Ochus
marches in-
to Egypt.*

*Encamps
near Pelu-
sium.*

Ochus having thus terminated the Egyptian war, sent back the Greek mercenaries to their respective countries with ample rewards: but, as all his conquests were chiefly owing to Mentor, he distinguished him above all the rest, not only rewarding him with a hundred talents, and other presents to a great value, but appointing him governor of all the coasts of Asia, and committing to his care the whole management of the war, which he was still carrying on against some provinces that had revolted in the beginning of his reign. These, by cunning stratagems, and by open force, he reduced, restoring the king's authority in all the parts of that vast empire.

*Mentor's
singular
merit re-
warded.*

All the revolted provinces being reduced, and peace established throughout the whole empire, Ochus gave

^a Solin. cap. 35. Syncell. ex Africano, p. 256. Oros. lib. xxxi. cap. 7. Joseph. lib. i. contra Apion. Justin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 3.

^b Diod. ubi. supra, p. 534.

*Divides
the admini-
stration
with Ba-
goas.*

*'Ochus' sa-
crilege in
Egypt.*

*Bagoas the
eunuch poi-
sons him for
it, and
raises Arses
to the
crown.*

Yr. of Fl.
3910.
Ante Chr.
338.

*Arses slain
by Bagoas.*

himself up to ease, luxury, and pleasure, leaving the administration of public affairs entirely to his ministers. The chief of these were Bagoas his favourite eunuch, and Mentor the Rhodian, who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the Upper Asia, and the latter ruled those of the lower. Bagoas, being by birth an Egyptian, had a great zeal for the religion of his country, and endeavoured to influence the king in favour of the Egyptian ceremonies; but, in opposition to all his endeavours, the king not only plundered the temples, but carried away the sacred records that were lodged in them; and, in contempt of their religion, slew the god Apis, that is, the sacred bull, which they worshipped under that name. This irreligious behaviour Bagoas deeply resented, and ever afterwards watched an opportunity of revenging the affront offered to his religion. The records he redeemed with a great sum of money, and sent them back into Egypt; but the injury done to his god, he thought could be no otherwise atoned for, but by putting the sacrilegious king to death; this aim he effected accordingly, by the help of the king's physician, who in his sickness, gave him a strong poison instead of physic, in the twenty-first year of his reign. Nor did the eunuch's revenge stop here; for the king's body he kept, causing another to be buried instead of it: and because Ochus had compelled his attendants to eat the flesh of their god Apis, he cut his flesh in pieces, and gave it to the cats, making of his bones handles for swords. Having in this barbarous manner dispatched his master and benefactor, and seeing the whole power of the empire in his hands, he placed Arses, the youngest of the dead king's sons, on the throne, and put all the rest to death, that he might the better secure to himself the authority which he had usurped; for the bare name of king was all that he allowed to Arses, reserving to himself the whole power and authority of the government^c.

Arses did not long enjoy even this shadow of power, being slain by the same Bagoas, who, finding that the king, well apprised of his wickedness and treachery, was taking measures to bring him to condign punishment, contrived to put him and his whole family to death, in the second year of his reign^d.

^c Diod. lib. xvii p. 564. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 8. Seyer. Sulpit. lib. ii. Vide & Suid. in 'αχ'.
^d Diod. & alii ibid.

The throne becoming again vacant by the death of Arses, Bagoas, who dared not yet usurp it to himself, placed on it Darius, the third of that name in Persia. Before his accession to the crown he was called Codomannus, and is said not to have been of the blood royal, because he was not the son of any king that reigned before him; however he was of the royal family, being descended from Darius Nothus, whose grandson, Arsanes, marrying his own sister Sisigambis, had by her Codomannus. Ostanes, the son of Darius Nothus, and father to Arsanes, was put to death by Ochus on his first ascending the throne, and with him above eighty of his sons and grandsons^e. How Codomannus came to escape this slaughter is no where said. In the reign of Ochus he made but a very poor figure, being only an astanda, that is, one employed to carry the royal dispatches to the governors of the provinces; a mean employment for one of the royal family^f. In the war which Ochus waged with the Cadusians, towards the latter end of his reign, one of those barbarians having challenged the whole Persian army to find a champion that dare encounter him in single combat, Codomannus accepted the challenge, after all the others had declined it, and slew the Cadusian. For this gallant action he was rewarded with the government of Armenia^g, and thence raised to the throne by Bagoas in the manner above related. But he had not long enjoyed the sovereign power before Bagoas, finding that he would not be entirely governed by him, resolved to remove him, and accordingly provided a poisonous potion: Darius, however, being acquainted with his design, when the potion was brought him made Bagoas himself drink it; and having thereby got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, he settled himself on the throne without any farther difficulty or opposition^h. Authors represent Darius as a prince of a mild and generous disposition, of great personal valour, and in stature and shape far exceeding every individual of the whole Persian empire; but having such a fortunate rival as Alexander the Great to encounter, he was not able, with all his good qualities and personal courage, to withstand him; and he was scarce seated on the throne when he found this powerful enemy preparing for his destruction.

Alexander having settled his affairs in Macedon, and used all imaginable precautions to prevent any troubles

Yr. of Fl.
2012.
Ante Chr.
336.

*Darius
Codomannus.*

*His extraor-
dinary rise.*

*Bagoas
forced to
drink the
poison pre-
pared for
Darius.*

^e Diod. *ibid.* Plut. in Artaxerxe. ^f Plut. de Vita & Fortuna Alexandri. ^g Diod. *ibid.* Justin. lib. x. cap. 3. ^h Diod.

ubi supra. Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 6. Strabo, lib. xv. Ælian & alii. that

*Philip made
chief com-
mander of
the wars
against
Darius.
Is succeed-
ed by his
son Alex-
ander the
Great.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2014.
Ante Chr.
334.*

*Memnon's
advice re-
jected.*

that might arise in that kingdom during his absence, set out for Siftus, and thence passed over the Hellespont into Asia, in the second year of Darius's reign. A war against the Persians had been resolved on, some time before, in a general assembly of the Amphictyons, to revenge the many injuries which Greece had received from the barbarians, during the space of three hundred years; and Philip king of Macedon had been appointed commander in chief of the forces destined for this expedition; but Philip being in the mean time murdered, his son Alexander summoned a general assembly of all the states and free cities of Greece, to meet at Corinth; and having prevailed with them to choose him in his father's room, he obliged each city to furnish its quota of men and money for carrying on the war. His army, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse; but they were all chosen men, well disciplined, and inured to the toils of war, most of them having served under Philip during his long wars, and all of them having been employed in different expeditions. Parmenio commanded the infantry; Philopatus, his son, had the command of eighteen hundred horse, all Macedonians; Callas, the son of Harpalus, led the same number of Thessalian cavalry; the rest of the horse had their particular commander, each being set over those of his own nation. With this army Alexander crossed the Hellespont, and arrived at the river Granicus, where he found the Persian governors of the neighbouring provinces encamped, with an army of a hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse, with a design to dispute his passage. Memnon, the Rhodian, whom Darius had appointed governor over all the coasts of Asia, had advised the generals not to venture a battle, but to lay waste the whole country, and even destroy the cities, that the enemy might be obliged, for want of provisions, to return back into Europe; but Arsites, governor of Phrygia, opposed the opinion of Memnon, protesting, that he would never suffer the Greeks to make such havock in the countries he governed. This rash and impolitic counsel prevailed; and Memnon was even suspected to hold intelligence with the enemy, or at least to be desirous of protracting the war, and thereby continuing the command to himself¹.

The Persian cavalry lined the banks of the Granicus, and formed a large front, in order to oppose Alexander

¹ Arrian. lib. i. Plut. in Alexand. Q. Curt. lib. iii.

wherever he should attempt a passage; and the foot, consisting chiefly of Greek mercenaries, were posted behind the cavalry on an easy ascent. Parmenio, observing the disposition of the enemy's army, advised Alexander to encamp on the opposite banks of the river, that his troops might have time to rest, and not to attempt the crossing over till the next morning, the river being deep, the banks very craggy and steep, his troops tired with their march, and those of the enemy quite fresh, as having been encamped in that place for several days. But all the reasons he could adduce made not the least impression on Alexander, who answered, that it would be a disgrace to him and his army, should he, after crossing the Hellepont, suffer his progress to be stopt by a rivulet, for so, out of contempt, he called the Granicus^k.

*Alexander
crosses the
Granicus.*

The two armies being drawn up in battle-array on the opposite banks of the river, continued some time in sight of each other, as if they dreaded the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, that they might attack them to advantage on their landing, and the Macedonians were looking for a convenient place to pass; this they no sooner found, than Alexander ordered a strong detachment of horse to advance into the river, and the right wing followed, which he commanded in person, the trumpets in the mean time sounding, and loud shouts of joy being heard throughout the whole army. The Persians let fly such showers of arrows against the detachment of Macedonian horse, as caused some confusion, several of their horses being killed or wounded; and as they drew near the bank, a most bloody engagement ensued, the Macedonians endeavouring to land, and the Persians pushing them again into the river. As Memnon commanded in this place, with his sons, the first ranks of the Macedonians were entirely cut off; and the rest, after having with the utmost difficulty gained the shore, were forced back into the river. Alexander, who followed them close, observing the confusion they were in, put himself at their head, and landed, after surmounting all opposition. Then he attacked the enemy's cavalry with great vigour, and, obliged them, after an obstinate resistance, to give way. However, Spithrobates, governor of Ionia, and son-in-law to Darius, being surrounded by forty Persian lords, all of them his relations, still maintained his ground, and did all that lay in his

*The battle
of Granicus.*

*The Persians
repulsed by
Alexander.*

^k Diod. Arrian. Plutarch, Curtius, & alii, ubi supra.

*Alexander
in immi-
nent
danger.*

power to lead the Persians back to the charge. Alexander seeing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, advanced full gallop to engage him; neither did he decline the combat, and both were slightly wounded at the first encounter. Spithrobates having thrown his javelin without effect, immediately advanced sword in hand against Alexander, who being upon his guard, run him through with his pike, as he was lifting up his arm to discharge a blow with his scimiter; but Rosaces, brother to Spithrobates, gave Alexander at the same time so furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, and slightly wounded him through his helmet. As he was ready to repeat the blow Clitus, with one stroke of his scimiter, cut off Rosaces' head, and thus saved the life of his sovereign. The Macedonians, animated by the example of their king, attacked the Persian horse with new vigour; so that not being able to stand so violent a shock, they first gave ground, and soon after betook themselves to a precipitate flight. Alexander did not pursue them, but immediately charged, at the head of the right wing, the enemy's infantry, who seeing themselves attacked, at the same time, by the cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx, which had crossed the river, made no great resistance. The Grecian infantry retired in good order to a neighbouring hill, whence they sent deputies to Alexander, demanding leave to march off unmolested; but he, instead of coming to a parley with them, rushed sword in hand into the middle of this small body, where he was very near being cut to pieces, his horse being killed under him. The Greeks defended themselves a long time with incredible valour, but being at last overpowered with numbers, were almost all killed on the spot. In this engagement the Persians lost twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; of the Macedonians, twenty-five men of the king's own troop fell in the first attack, whose statues, made by Lyfippus, Alexander, some time after, caused to be erected in Dia, a city of Macedon, whence they were, many years after, carried to Rome by Q. Metellus. About sixty others of the horse were killed, and thirty of the foot, who were all buried next day with great solemnity, the king exempting their parents and children from all taxes¹.

*Sardis and
Ephesus
surrender
to Alexander.*

The victory was attended with all the happy circumstances that could be expected; for Sardis, which was

¹ Plut. in Alexandro. Diod. p. 503. Justin. lib. xi. cap. 6. Arabian lib. i. cap. 18.

the

the key of the Persian empire, immediately surrendered, and was, by Alexander, declared a free city; the citizens being permitted to live according to their own laws. From Sardis he advanced to Ephesus, where he was received with great joy. Here he offered a great number of sacrifices to Diana, and assigned to the temple of the goddess all the tributes that were paid to the Persians. Before he left Ephesus, the deputies of Trallis and Magnesia waited upon him with the keys of their cities. From Ephesus he advanced to Miletus; which city, flattered with the hopes of being soon relieved, refused him admittance; and, indeed, the Persian fleet, which was very numerous, made a feint, in order to succour the city; but, after various fruitless attempts, they sailed off. Memnon had shut himself up in this strong hold, with a considerable number of his men who had escaped from the battle on the Granicus, and was resolved to make a vigorous resistance. Alexander, having surrounded the city with his whole army, planted scaling-ladders on all sides, thinking that the most expeditious manner of becoming master of the place; but his men being every where repulsed, and the city well stored with provisions for a long siege, he began to batter the walls with all his engines, night and day, without intermission. Several breaches were made, but still he could not master the town, the besieged sustaining all his efforts with incredible bravery. At last, the place being almost quite dismantled, and the besieged tired out with hard service, Memnon demanded to capitulate, and surrendered the city upon honourable terms: the Milesians were allowed to live according to their own laws, and Memnon, with his Greeks, to march out unmolested; but the Persians were either put to the sword or sold for slaves^m.

*Miletus
besieged
and taken.*

Alexander having thus possessed himself of Miletus, marched into Caria, in order to besiege Halicarnassus, the metropolis of that province, which refused to submit. That city was, both by nature and art, one of the best fortified in all Asia; and besides, Memnon had thrown himself into it with a considerable body of chosen men, resolved to signalize, in the defence of so important a place, his courage and attachment to Darius, with whom he had left his wife and children as pledges of his fidelity. Accordingly he made a most vigorous resistance, being seconded by Ephialtes, another general of great prowess.

*Memon's
brave de-
fence of
Halicar-
nassus.*

^m Diod. ubi supra. Arrian. lib. i. cap. 19.

Whatever

Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the art of war, was practised, on this occasion, both by the besiegers and the besieged. After the Macedonians had, with the utmost difficulty, filled up the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, their works were all demolished in an instant, and their engines set on fire by the besieged. No sooner was any part of the wall beat down by the battering-rams, than a new rampart was raised in its stead, the Macedonians finding themselves no farther advanced, after an immense labour, than they were when they first sat down before the place. The city held out so long, and the besiegers had so many difficulties to struggle with, that any general besides Alexander would have given over the enterprize; but his troops were encouraged to pursue the undertaking by those very difficulties which would have disheartened others; and their patience at last proved successful, for Memnon was obliged to abandon the city, which he could no longer defend. As the sea was open he placed a strong garrison in the citadel, which was stored with all sorts of provisions, and going on board the Persian fleet, whereof he was admiral, conveyed the inhabitants, with all their effects, to the island of Cos, not far distant from Halicarnassus. Alexander finding the city empty both of riches and inhabitants, razed it to the ground; but the citadel he did not think proper to besiege, it being of little importance to him after the city was destroyed^a.

Halicarnassus abandoned by Memnon. Taken and razed.

Yr. of Fl.
3015.
Ante Chr.
333.

Greek cities submit to Alexander.

After the reduction of Halicarnassus, all the Greek cities in Asia declared for Alexander, who proclaimed every where, that he had undertaken this war with no other view, than to free them from the Persian bondage. In the second year of this war he reduced the provinces of Phrygia, Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Cappadocia; and appointed such of his friends to govern them as he thought fit for the office. These transactions we shall relate more at large in the life of that great warrior.

Memnon's excellent advice to Darius.

In the mean time Darius did not fail to prepare for a vigorous defence. Memnon advised him to carry the war into Macedon: and a wiser resolution could not have been taken; for the Lacedæmonians, and several other Greek states, that were disaffected to the Macedonians, and jealous of their overgrown power, would have readily joined

^a Arrian, lib. xi. sub init. Diod. ubi supra.

their enemies; and this junction would have obliged Alexander to leave Asia, and return to the defence of his own country. Darius, being well apprised of the reasonableness of this advice, willingly embraced it, and charged Memnon to put it in execution, appointing him admiral of the fleet, and commander in chief of all the forces that were to be employed in this expedition. That prince could not have made a better choice; for Memnon was by far the best general in his service, and had for many years given undoubted proofs, not only of his courage and conduct, but also his extraordinary fidelity and attachment to the Persian interest. Having received this new commission, he assembled the scattered remains of the army, and appointed the fleet to rendezvous at the island of Cos, where he took on board the land-forces, and with them reduced the islands of Chios and Lesbos, except the city of Mitylene. From thence he designed to pass over into Euboea, and make Greece and Macedon the seat of the war; but he died before Mitylene, which city he had been forced to besiege. His death was the greatest misfortune that could befall the Persian empire; for Darius, not having one general capable of carrying on that enterprise, the only expedient that could have saved his empire, was obliged to drop it, and entirely depend upon his eastern armies. These he appointed to assemble at Babylon, where having set up his standard, and mustered his forces, he found they amounted in all to the number of four, five, or six hundred thousand men, according to the various accounts of authors.

Made his admiral.

His death.

Darius's army mustered at Babylon.

The news of Memnon's death confirmed Alexander in the resolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of Upper Asia. Accordingly he proceeded with all possible expedition into Cilicia; and, arriving at a place called Cyrus's Camp, (whether from Cyrus the Great, as Curtius tells us, or from the younger, as we read in Arrian, is uncertain) about fifty stadia distant from the Straights of Cilicia, he was informed that the enemy guarded that important pass with a considerable body of troops. When he received this intelligence, leaving Parmenio there, he advanced in person, at the first watch, to surprize them. But the Persians, being aware of his design, betook themselves to flight, and abandoned the pass: Alexander having entered it, and viewed with at-

Alexander takes the important pass called Cyrus's Camp.

* Vide Plutarch in Alexand. Arrian, lib. xi. cap. 6. Justin, lib. xi. cap. 9. Curt. lib. iii. cap. 4.

*Tarsus
preserved
from being
burnt.*

tention the nature of the place, admired his good fortune, and owned that he might have been stopped with great ease, seeing the road was so narrow that four men could scarce pass a-breast, and so broken in several places, and encumbered with large stones which had rolled down from the mountains, that a very small number of resolute men might have withstood, with no other weapons but stones; a more numerous army. From the Streights of Cilicia; he marched to the city of Tarsus, where he arrived the instant the Persians were setting fire to the place, in order to prevent the Macedonians from enriching themselves with the plunder of so wealthy and flourishing a city. They arrived therefore very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and save the place from utter destruction.

*Darius's
march into
Cilicia.*

In the mean time Darius had begun his march, at the head of his numerous army, and was advanced as far as the vast plains of Mesopotamia. Here the commanders of the Greek mercenaries earnestly pressed him to wait for the enemy, that he might engage them with all the advantage his numbers gave him; but Darius would not hearken to their advice, hastening blindly to the mountainous parts of Cilicia, where his cavalry, and the number of his troops, would rather be an incumbrance to each other, than of any service in an engagement.

*The pomp-
ous order of
his march.*

The order he observed in his march was as follows: before the army was carried, on silver altars, the sacred and eternal fire, attended by the magi, singing hymns, after the manner of their country, and three hundred and sixty-five youths in scarlet-robcs. After these came a chariot consecrated to Jupiter, drawn by white horses, and followed by one of an extraordinary size, whom they called the horse of the sun: all the equeuries were clothed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand. Next appeared ten sumptuous chariots, enriched with curious sculptures in gold and silver; and then the vanguard of the horse, composed of twelve different nations, all armed in a different manner. This body of horse was followed by another of foot, by the Persians called Immortal; because if any of them died, his place was immediately supplied by another: they were ten thousand in number, and remarkable for the sumptuousness of their apparel; for they all wore collars of pure gold, and were

† Arrian. lib. ii. Curt. lib. iii. cap. 8.
Curt. ibid.

‡ Arrian. &

cloathed

cloathed in robes of gold tissue, having large sleeves, garnished with precious stones. About thirty paces after them came the king's relations, or cousins, to the number of fifteen thousand, apparelled like women, and surpassing even the Immortal Body in the pomp and richness of their attire. They were honoured with the title of the King's Cousins, and possibly several of the king's relations were in this number. After these appeared Darius himself, attended by his guards, and seated on a chariot, as on a throne. His chariot was supported on both sides by the gods of his nation, cast in pure gold. From the middle of the beam, which was set with jewels, rose two statues of pure gold, a cubit in height, one representing war and the other peace, and both shaded with the wings of a spread eagle of the same metal. The king was cloathed with a garment of purple, striped with silver, wearing over that a long robe, enriched with a great many precious stones; and the scabbard of his scimiter, as our author tells us, was made of a single precious stone. On either side of the king walked two hundred of his nearest relations, followed by ten thousand horsemen, whose lances were plated with silver, and tipped with gold. After these marched thirty thousand foot, the rear of the army; and lastly, four hundred led horses belonging to the king. At a small distance followed Sisigambis, the king's mother, and his consort, both seated on high chariots, with a numerous train of female attendants on horseback, and fifteen chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who were charged with the care of their education. Next to these were the royal concubines, to the number of three hundred and sixty, all attired like so many queens. They were followed by six hundred mules, and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a body of archers. This pageant march was closed by a great many chariots, carrying the ladies of the crown officers, and lords of the court, and guarded by some companies of foot lightly armed.

*His chariot
described.*

His guard.

*His household
and
retinue.*

Alexander, receiving advice that Darius was advancing towards the Euphrates, in order to enter Cilicia, detached Parmenio to possess himself of another narrow pass, leading from Assyria, or rather Syria, into Cilicia. As for himself, he marched from Tarsus to Anchialos, and thence to Soli; which city he reduced, obliging the inhabitants, who refused at first to admit him into their

Soli taken.

Arrian & Curt. ubi supra:

*The Greek
generals
advice to
Darius re-
jected.*

city, to pay twenty thousand talents for the maintenance of his army. While he was at Castabala, a small city not far from mount Amanus, news was brought him, that Darius, with his whole army, was advanced as far as the city of Sochus, in Syria, within two days march of Cilicia. Alexander immediately summoned a council of war, wherein it was determined, that the whole army should march the next day, and wait for Darius among the mountains of Cilicia: there they encamped accordingly, on a spot of ground, just wide enough for two small armies to act in; so that both were in some degree reduced to an equality. When intelligence was brought to the Persian camp, that Alexander had halted in the midst of the mountains, the Greek commanders, who served in Darius's army, advised him again to wait for the enemy in the plains where he was then encamped; or retire to those of Mesopotamia, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, bring them all to engage at the same time, and surround the enemy: they observed, that within those streights there was not room any where to draw up above thirty thousand men in battle-array; therefore the Macedonians could bring all their men to engage, and the Persians would not be able to use the twentieth part of theirs. As he did not approve of this counsel, they advised him to divide his army into several bodies, and not to put all the chance to one battle. But his adverse fate did not suffer him to follow such wholesome advice; and the courtiers again traduced those who had suggested it as traitors, telling Darius, that they advised him to divide his troops with no other view, than that they might have, after such a separation, a fair opportunity of delivering up into the enemies hands whatever should be in their power. However, Darius thanked the Greeks for their zeal and good-will, and even condescended to lay before them the motives that induced him to reject their advice. The courtiers had made him believe that Alexander was flying before him; and that therefore he ought to march forward with all possible expedition, and fall upon him when intangled in the streights, lest he should make his escape. It was therefore agreed, in a council of all the Persian generals, that they should engage the enemy in the narrow passes. Darius having sent his treasures and most valuable moveables to Damascus, in Syria, under a small convoy, led the main body of the army towards the streights of mount Amanus, through which he entered Cilicia, and advanced as far as
the

the city of Issus, not knowing that Alexander was behind; for he had been told that the Macedonians were retired in great disorder into Syria. In the city of Issus he barbarously put to death the sick and wounded Macedonians, that had been left there by Parmenio, sparing only a few, whom he dismissed, after making them view his camp, that they might be eye-witnesses of the immense number of his forces. These brought Alexander word of Darius's approach, which he could scarce believe, though he desired nothing more earnestly. However, having offered a sacrifice to the gods of the place, he advanced to meet him; and drew up his army on a spot of ground near the city of Issus, bounded on one side by the mountains, and by the sea on the other. Here Darius, not being able to extend his front beyond that of the Macedonians, on account of the narrowness of the place, could dispose of his great army no otherwise than by drawing them up in many lines one behind the other. But the Macedonians soon breaking the first line, and that recoiling upon the second, and the second upon the third, progressively, the whole Persian army was put in disorder; and the Macedonians pursuing the advantage, by pressing forward, the confusion was increased to such a degree, that even the bravest among the Persians, who were desirous to signalize themselves, could neither stand their ground, nor manage their arms. As the crowd, occasioned by the flight of so numerous an army, was very great, those who fell that day were, for the most part, trampled to death by their own men. Darius, who fought in the first line, disengaged himself with much difficulty, and fled in his chariot to the neighbouring mountains, where he mounted on horseback, and continued his flight, leaving behind him his bow, his shield, and royal mantle. Alexander was prevented from pursuing by the Greek mercenaries, who charging the Macedonian phalanx with incredible bravery, killed Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, with one hundred and twenty officers of distinction, besides a great many private men; and, though attacked in flank by Alexander in person, maintained their ground, until they were from twenty thousand reduced to eight thousand. They then retired in good order over the mountains, towards Tripoli in Syria, where, finding the transports that had conveyed them from Lesbos lying on the shore, they fitted out such a number as suited their purpose, and sailed to Cyprus, after having burnt the rest, to prevent their being pursued. Alexander no sooner saw them put to flight,

*The battle
of Issus.
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333.*

*The Persians
straitened and
put into dis-
order.*

*Darius put
to flight.*

*The Greek
mercen-
aries ob-
stinate bra-
very.*

*The Persian
camp seized
and
plundered.*

flight, than he hastened after Darius; but growing weary of the pursuit, and night drawing on, he returned to the enemies camp, which his soldiers had just before plundered. Sifigambis, Darius's mother, and his wife, who was also his sister, with his son Ochus, not full six years old, and his two daughters, both marriageable; besides some noblemen's daughters that attended them, were found in the camp, and taken prisoners. The rest had been sent to Damascus, with part of Darius's treasure, and all the rich furniture which the Persian monarchs used to carry with them into the field; so that in the camp they found only three thousand talents of silver: but the rest of the treasures fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at his taking the city of Damascus*. In this engagement the Persians lost, according to Arrian, ten thousand horse, and ninety thousand foot; and with him other writers agree as to the number of the horse; but, as to the foot, they all vary, not only from him, but from each other, some making the number of the dead amount to eighty, others to ninety, others to one hundred, and some to one hundred and twenty thousand; adding, that forty thousand were taken prisoners. While Alexander, according to the highest computation, lost, in all, but three hundred men†.

Their loss.

*Alexander's noble
treatment
of Darius's
family.*

Next day Alexander, after having visited the wounded, caused the dead to be buried in great pomp, in the presence of the whole army, which was drawn up in battle array. The same honours he paid to the manes of the Persians of rank; and allowed Darius's mother to bury as many as she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies of her country. But the prudent princess used that permission with great modesty and reserve, burying only a few, who were her near relations. Alexander treated her and the other captive princesses with great humanity: they were, says Plutarch‡, in Alexander's camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in an holy temple, designed for the asylum of virtue; they all living so retired, that they were not seen by any person whatever, none daring to approach their pavilion, but such as were appointed to attend them. As Darius's consort, and her two daughters, were princesses of an extraordinary beauty, Alexander, after the first visit, resolved

* Plutarch in Alexand. Curt. lib. iii. Arrian lib. ii. Diod. lib. xvii.

† Diod. Plutarch, Arrian. Curt. Justin ubi supra.

‡ Plut. de Fortuna Alexandri.

never to see them any more, that his frailty might not expose him to any danger.

Alexander seeing himself now master of the field, detached Parmenio to Damascus with the Thessalian horse. On his march thither, he was met by a messenger sent by the governor of that city with a letter to Alexander, wherein he offered to betray the city to the king. On the fourth day Parmenio arrived at Damascus, when the governor, pretending that he was not able to defend the city against a victorious army, caused, by day-break, a vast number of beasts of burden to be loaded with the king's treasure and rich furniture, as if he intended to retire, and save them for his master; but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with Parmenio, who had opened the letter directed to the king. At the first sight of the forces which this general headed, the Persians, who convoyed the treasures, betook themselves to flight, and left the Macedonians masters of all the gold and silver that was designed to pay so numerous an army. The Thessalian horse had the best share of this booty, having been sent by Alexander on this expedition, that they might enrich themselves with the plunder of so rich a city, in reward of that heroic conduct by which they had distinguished themselves*. The governor of the place was killed by one of his own men, and his head carried to Darius†.

Damascus and Darius's treasure betrayed to Alexander.

After this victory Alexander marched into Syria, most of the cities of that country voluntarily submitting to the conqueror, and even Darius's governors and commanders delivering themselves and their treasures up into his hands. Being arrived at Marathon, he received a letter from Darius, in which he styled himself king, without bestowing that title on Alexander. The Persian rather commanded than entreated him to ask what sum he pleased for the ransom of his mother, wife, and children; and as to their dispute about empire, he said they might decide it, if he thought proper, in a general engagement, to which both parties should bring an equal number of troops; but, if he were still capable of wholesome counsel, he would advise him to be contented with the kingdom of his ancestors, and not invade that of another, to which he had no right; he desired, that for the future, they should live in friendship and amity; and declared, that he was ready to swear to the observance of these articles, and receive Alexander's

Darius writes to Alexander.

* Plutarch de Fort. & Curt. lib. iii. cap. 25.

† Curt. ibid:

Alexander's answer.

oath. This letter, which was written with such an unseasonable spirit of pride and haughtiness, provoked Alexander to a great degree, who, therefore, in his answer began thus: "Alexander the king to Darius." He enumerated the many injuries and calamities which the Greeks and Macedonians had suffered from the Persians; reproached that nation with the base and treacherous murder of his father Philip; and Darius, in particular, with setting a price upon his own head: wherefore he was not the aggressor, but had taken up arms in his own defence, and to revenge the death of his father, and the injuries done to his country: he observed that the gods, who always declare for the just cause, approved of this war, as appeared by the success that attended it, since, with their protection, he had already subdued great part of Asia, and defeated the mighty host of the Persians, in a pitched battle, with a handful of men. However, he engaged his word, that he would restore to him his wife, mother, and children, provided he repaired to him as a suppliant, and humbly begged him to give them their liberty; assuring him, that he might do it without the least danger. He concluded, by desiring him to remember, when he next wrote, that he not only addressed a king, but his king: and Theſſippus was ordered to carry this letter².

Biblos, Sidon, and other cities of Phœnice, submit to Alexander.

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Ante Chr.
332.

Alexander marched from thence into Phœnice, where the citizens of Biblos opened their gates to him; and their example was followed by other cities, in proportion as he advanced into the country: but none received him with greater joy than the Sidonians expressed, who had a few years before been so cruelly treated by Ochus. Since that time, they bore such hatred to the Persian name, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity of shaking off the yoke; and, indeed, were the first in Phœnice who submitted to Alexander, by their deputies, in opposition to Strabo, their king, who was in the Persian interest. Alexander deposed him, and permitted Hephæstion to elect in his room whomsoever of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of so exalted a station².

While Alexander was in Phœnice, some of the Persian generals, who had escaped from the battle at Issus, drawing together the remains of the scattered army, attempted, with the assistance of the Cappadocians and Paphlago-

² Diod. lib. xvii. p. 517, 518. Arrian, lib. ii. p. 83—86. Plut. in Alexandro, p. 678. Curt. lib. iv. cap. 1. Justin. lib. xi. cap. 10.

² Curt lib. iv. cap. 1. Justin. lib. xi. cap. 10.

nians, to recover Lydia ; but were in several engagements routed, and at last entirely dispersed by Antigonus, whom Alexander had appointed governor of that province. At the same time, the Macedonian fleet, sailing from Greece, fell in with that of the enemy's, commanded by Aristomenes, whom Darius had sent to recover the cities on the Hellespont, and attacked them so furiously, that not one single ship escaped^b.

All Syria and Phœnice were already subdued, except the city of Tyre, which he besieged, and took by assault, after the inhabitants had held out with incredible bravery for seven whole months, as we have related in the history of Phœnice.

While Alexander was carrying on the siege of Tyre, he received a second letter from Darius, who at last condescended to give him the title of king : he offered him ten thousand talents, by way of ransom, for the captive princesses, and his daughter Statira in marriage, with all the country he had conquered as far as the Euphrates : he put him in mind of the inconstancy of fortune ; and displayed, in pompous terms, the vast number of troops he could still bring into the field : he represented the difficulties he might meet with in crossing the Euphrates, the Tygris, the Araxes, and the Hydaspes, which were so many barriers to the Persian empire : that he would not have always the opportunity of shutting himself up among rocks and mountains, but would be obliged, some time or other, to engage in an open and champaign country, where he would be ashamed to appear before him with a handful of men. Upon the receipt of this letter, Alexander summoned a council, in which Parmenio was of opinion, that he ought to accept of the offers of Darius, declaring that he would agree to them were he Alexander : and so would I, (replied Alexander), were I Parmenio. Without hearkening therefore to his advice, he answered, that he did not want the money Darius offered him : that it did not become him to offer, what he no longer possessed ; nor pretend to dispose of what he had already lost : that if he was the only person who did not know which of the two was the best commander, a battle would soon determine it ; that he should not be frightened with rivers, after having crossed the sea ; and would not fail to pursue Darius and come up with him, at last, to

*A second
letter from
Darius to
Alexander,*

*and his an-
swer.*

^b Curt. lib. iv. cap. 4.

what place soever he should think proper to retire. Darius, upon the receipt of this letter, lost all hopes of an accommodation, and began anew to prepare for war.

*The city of
Gaza be-
sieged and
taken by
Alexander.*

Alexander having reduced Tyre, marched from thence to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem to Gaza. On his arrival at that city, he found it defended by a strong garrison, under the command of Betis, or, as some call him, Babemefis^c, one of Darius's eunuchs, who, being a commander of great experience in military affairs, and faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out, till he was reduced to the last extremity. As this place was the only inlet into Egypt, Alexander could not pass thither, till he was become master of it; and therefore was forced to undertake the siege. But although his troops behaved with the utmost intrepidity, and his commanders exerted all their military skill, yet it cost him and his whole army two entire months to reduce the place. The stop which this put to his intended march into Egypt, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the siege, provoked him to such a degree, that, on his taking the town, he treated the commander, inhabitants, and soldiers, in a manner no ways becoming a conqueror; for having cut ten thousand of them in pieces, he sold the rest, with their wives and children, for slaves. When Betis, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity justly deserved, he ordered his heels to be bored, a cord to be drawn through them, and the unhappy captive, thus tied to a chariot, to be dragged round the city, till he expired; boasting, that in this particular he imitated his progenitor Achilles, who, as Homer relates, caused the dead body of Hector to be dragged round the walls of Troy, as if a hero ought to imitate so execrable an example! Both acts were barbarous and inhuman, but that of Alexander the more brutal; for Achilles caused only Hector's dead body to be so abused, whereas Alexander thus treated Betis while alive; and for no other reason, but because he had served his sovereign with fidelity, in the post committed to his charge^d. He sent great part of the booty to Olympias, to Cleopatra, and his friends; and having left a garrison there, marched directly for Egypt, which he subdued without opposition.

*Egypt sub-
mits to A-
lexander.*

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. cap. ult. Euseb. Chron. Plin. lib. xii. cap. 25. Arrian. lib. ii. p. 50. ^d Curt. lib. iv. cap. 10. Arrian. lib. ii. prope finem. Plut. in Alexand. p. 679.

At Memphis Alexander formed a design of visiting the temple of Jupiter Ammon; and in his way thither built the city of Alexandria, which soon became the metropolis of the kingdom. On his return from the temple he settled the affairs of Egypt, and marched from thence, in the beginning of the spring, to attack Darius. On his return into Phœnicie, he staid some time at Tyre, that he might there settle the affairs of the countries which he was to leave behind him, before he proceeded to make new conquests: having made the requisite dispositions, he began his march; and with his whole army arrived at Thapsacus, where he crossed the Euphrates, continuing his march towards the Tigris in quest of the enemy. Darius, in the mean time, finding there were no hopes of an accommodation, unless he resigned the whole empire, exerted himself in making the necessary preparations for another engagement. For this purpose, having assembled at Babylon an army twice as numerous as that with which he fought at Issus, he took the field, and marched towards Nineveh. Advice being brought him, that the enemy was not far off, he detached Satropates, commander of the cavalry; at the head of a thousand horse, and Mazæus, governor of that province, with six thousand, to prevent Alexander from crossing the Tigris, and to lay waste the country, through which he was to pass. But they came too late, Alexander having, with the utmost difficulty crossed the river, a little before they arrived. He encamped two days on the banks of the river, during which there happened an eclipse of the moon: this appearance so terrified the Macedonians, that they refused to proceed in their march, crying out, that Heaven displayed the marks of its anger; that they were dragged against the will of the gods, to the utmost extremities of the earth; and that even the moon refused to lend them her usual light. Alexander having summoned the officers of the army into his tent, commanded the Egyptian soothsayers to declare what they thought of this phenomenon. These were well acquainted with the natural causes of eclipses; but without entering into such enquiries, they replied, that the sun was predominant in Greece, and the moon in Persia; whence, as often as the moon suffered an eclipse, some great calamity was thereby portended to the latter. This answer being immediately spread abroad amongst the soldiers, it revived their hopes and courage; and Alexander taking advantage of this ardour, began his march after midnight, having on his right the

Tigris,

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*The Macedonians
terrified
by an e-
clipse of the
moon, but
encouraged
by the E-
gyptian
soothsayers.*

Tigris, and the Gordyæan Mountains on his left ^d. At day-break, the scouts he had sent out to reconnoitre, brought word, that Darius was in full march to meet, and give him battle. He forthwith drew up his forces, and put himself at the head of the army; but, as they advanced, he found that it was only a detachment of a thousand horse, which, as the Macedonians approached, retired in great haste to the main army. They were pursued by Aristo, commander of the Pæonian horse, who, having defeated that body, and killed Satropates their leader, brought back his head, and threw it down at Alexander's feet, telling him, that in his country, such a present was usually rewarded with a cup of gold. Alexander replied smiling, "with an empty one; but I will give you a golden cup, and that full of wine^e." Not long after this incident, Alexander received intelligence, that Darius was not above one hundred and fifty furlongs distant; upon which he halted, to refresh his soldiers before the engagement, having in the camp great store of provisions. He had intercepted some letters written by Darius to the Greeks, soliciting them, with great promises, either to kill or betray Alexander. The king was in doubt, whether he should read the letters in a full assembly; for he relied as much on the fidelity of the Greeks, as on that of the Macedonians; but Parmenio dissuaded him from it, telling him, that even the raising such thoughts in the minds of soldiers might be attended with some danger; and that the hopes of a great reward were capable of prompting a man to attempt the most enormous crimes. The king allowed his prudent advice, and ordered his army to march forward ^f. They were scarce in motion, when an eunuch brought him word, that Statira, Darius's wife, was dead. He immediately returned, and entering the pavilion, where Sisigambis and the other royal prisoners were kept, comforted them in so kind and tender a manner, as plainly shewed his deep concern. He caused the funeral obsequies of the dead princess to be performed with the utmost splendor and magnificence. Darius being informed with what respect Alexander had treated her in her life-time, is said to have prayed the gods, that if the time ordained by the Fates for the transferring of the Persian empire into other hands was come, none might sit on the throne of Cyrus,

^d Arrian. lib. iii. Curt. lib. iv. cap. 23, 24.
lib. iii. Curt. lib. iv. cap. 23. Plutarch in Alexandro.
lib. iv. cap. 25.

^e Arrian.
^f Curt.

but

but so just, so merciful, so generous a conqueror as Alexander^s. Although he had twice sued for peace, yet being overcome by the tenderness and humanity which Alexander had shewn his wife, mother, and children, he dispatched ten of his relations, as ambassadors, offering him new conditions of peace, more advantageous than the former, and returning him thanks for the kind treatment with which he had indulged his family. He had in his former proposals, offered him all the provinces of Asia, as far as Halys; but now he added the countries lying between the Hellespont and the Euphrates; that is, whatever Alexander was already master of, and offered thirty thousand talents by way of ransom for his family. Parmenio again advised Alexander to accept of the conditions, telling him, that the provinces between the Euphrates and the Hellespont would be a great addition to the kingdom of Macedon; and that the Persian prisoners were only an incumbrance to the army; whereas the treasure offered for their ransom might be employed for the use of his troops, or to reward the services of his friends. But Alexander, without hearkening to his advice, returned the following answer to the ambassadors; that the clemency he had shewn to the wife and children of Darius proceeded from his own good nature, without any regard to their master; that he did not make war upon women and children, but upon such only as appeared in arms against him; that, if Darius had sued for peace in good earnest, he would have hearkened to his proposals; but since he continued to spirit up, with large bribes, his own soldiers, to murder or betray him, he could not believe that his offers were sincere; and therefore was determined to pursue him with the utmost vigour, not as a fair enemy, but as a traitor and assassin; that as to the provinces he offered him, they were already his own; and if Darius could force him to retire beyond the Euphrates, which he had already crossed, he might then offer them as his; that he proposed to himself, as a reward for the toils he had already endured, all those kingdoms which Darius still enjoyed; wherein, whether he flattered himself with a vain hope, or not, the next day's engagement should determine. He concluded by telling the ambassadors, that he was come into Asia, to give and not to receive; that the heavens could not hold two suns; and, therefore, if Darius would submit to him, acknowledging

New conditions of peace offered by Darius;

but rejected by Alexander.

Darius encamps at Gaugamela.

him his lord and sovereign, he would then hearken to his proposals^h. The ambassadors having reported this answer, Darius prepared for an engagement. He encamped near a village called Gaugamela, in a large plain, at a considerable distance from the city of Arbela, having beforehand levelled the ground, that his cavalry and chariots might move and act with the more ease. Alexander hearing that Darius was so near, continued four days in camp, to rest the army, and surrounded it with deep trenches and palisades, being determined to leave in it his baggage and such of his men as were indisposed. He began his march about the second watch, with a design to engage the Persians at break of day; and, arriving at a rising-ground, whence he could discover their whole army, he halted, and summoned a council, being in doubt whether he should encamp there, or immediately fall upon the enemy. Parmenio advised him to attack their camp in the night time, alleging, that they might be easily defeated, if taken by surprise and in the dark; but the king answered, that it did not become Alexander to steal a victory; and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in broad day light. Accordingly he encamped there in the same order, in which the army had marched; and after giving the proper orders, he retired to repose during the remaining part of the night; but, being under no small concern, he could not sleep till towards morning; so that when his generals were assembled at day-break before his tent, they were greatly surprised to find, that he was not yet awake. Parmenio, after having waited some time, thought fit to call him; and seeming amazed that he should sleep so sound when he was upon the point of hazarding a battle, on which depended the empire of Asia, Alexander told him, that Darius, by bringing all his forces into one place, had freed him from the trouble of thinking how he might pursue them into different countriesⁱ. He then without delay put on his armour, mounted on horseback, and having drawn up his army in battle-array, advanced to encounter the enemy, who were at a very small distance.

Both armies drawn up in battle array.

Both armies were drawn up in the same order, the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the wings. Darius's front was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with scythes, and twenty-five elephants. Besides his

^h Curt. lib. iv. cap. 26. Justin. lib. xi. cap. 12.
lib. xi. cap. 13. Curt. lib. iv. cap. 30, 31. Plut. in Alexandro.

ⁱ Justin.

guards, which were the flower of his army, he had posted the Grecian infantry near his person, believing this body alone capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army took up a much greater space of ground than Alexander's, his design was to surround and charge them at the same time in front and flank; which design Alexander suspecting, ordered those, who led the wings, to extend them as wide as possible, without weakening the centre. His baggage, and the captives among whom were Darius's mother and children, were left in the camp under a small guard. Parmenio commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and Alexander conducted the right. When the two armies were in sight of each other, the Macedonians halted, waiting till the enemy should advance to attack them; which they did accordingly, Darius himself charging in the first line. Arrian and Curtius * describe this battle at length. They tell us, that the Persians were often repulsed; but, returned again to the charge; that victory inclined sometimes to one side, and sometimes to the other; that Parmenio, who commanded the left wing, was in great danger, and his men obliged to give ground; that Alexander's rear was put in disorder, and the baggage taken; that both kings performed wonders, &c. But after all, Curtius tells, that the Macedonians, notwithstanding the great opposition they met with, lost only three hundred men; and Arrian allows not a third of that number slain; whereas of the Persians there fell forty thousand, says Curtius; thirty thousand according to Arrian; and ninety thousand, if we believe Diodorus. From these accounts we can form no other judgement of this great battle, but that the Persians, at the very first onset, betook themselves to flight, and the Macedonians pursued them; for had the seven or eight hundred thousand men, which Darius brought into the field, thrown each one a dart or a stone, the Macedonians could not have bought the empire of the East at so easy a rate. In the heat of the battle, when the Macedonians were in the greatest danger, Aristander, the soothsayer, clothed in white robes, and holding a branch of olive in his hand, is reported to have advanced among the first ranks, and, in concert with Alexander, to have cried out, that he saw an eagle hovering over the king's head, a sure omen of victory. He pointed with his finger at the pretended bird; and the soldiers believing him, and some even fan-

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*The battle
of Gaugamela.*

The Persians routed.

* Arrian. lib. iii. Curt. lib. iv. cap. 25. & seqq.

cyng

cying they saw it, renewed the attack with more courage and resolution than ever. We are told that Darius, seeing his numerous army so shamefully put to flight, drew his scimiter, and was some time in suspense, whether he should not lay violent hands on himself, rather than fly in so ignominious a manner; but at last resolved to save himself by flight, and arrived at Arbela the same night (Q). After he had passed the Lycus, some, who attended him in his flight, advised him to break down the bridge, in order to stop the enemy's pursuit; but he, reflecting how many of his own men were hastening to pass over the same bridge, replied, that he had rather leave an open way to a pursuing enemy, than shut it to a flying friend¹. He arrived about midnight at Arbela, whither he was followed by a great many of his nobles and commanding officers, whom he called together, and acquainted them, that he designed to leave all, for the present, to Alexander, and fly into Media, from whence, and from the rest of the northern provinces, he could draw together new forces, to try once more his fortune in battle. Alexander pursued him as far as Arbela, but, before his arrival, Darius had passed the mountains of Armenia, attended by some of his relations, and a small body of guards called Melophori, because each of them bore a golden apple on the point of his spear. In Armenia he was joined by two thousand Greek mercenaries, who, under the command of Pharon an Ionian, and Glaucus an Æolian, had escaped from the battle. Alexander took the city of Arbela, where he seized on immense sums of money, with all Darius's rich furniture and equipage, and returned to his camp. After having allowed his army some days of rest, he pro-

Alexander takes the city of Arbela and all Darius's rich furniture.

¹ Curt. lib. iv. cap. 36, 37. Justin. lib. xi. cap. 14.

(Q) This battle was fought at Gaugamela, near the river Beumelus, as Ptolemy Lagi, and Aristobulus, who were present, aver: they are followed by Strabo and Plutarch. Nevertheless, because Gaugamela was only a small village, and the name not agreeable to the ear, signifying the *camels house*, the battle is said to have been fought at Arbela, which was a great and famous city in

those parts. Gaugamela and Arbela were at a considerable distance from each other; for between the river Beumelus, on which stood Gaugamela and the Lycus, on the banks of which Arbela was situated, Curtius reckons eighty furlongs. According to Strabo's description of those places, Arbela, in Ptolemy's fifth map of Asia, ought to be placed where we find Gaugamela.

ceeded

ceeded on his march to Babylon. Mazæus was governor of that city and province, and had, after the late battle, retired thither with the scattered remains of the body he commanded; but, on the approach of Alexander's victorious army, he had not courage enough to oppose him. Marching, therefore, out to meet him, he delivered the city and himself, with his children, into the conqueror's hands. Bagaphanes, governor of the castle, where all Darius's treasures were lodged, followed his example; and Alexander entered the city at the head of his whole army, as though he had been marching against an enemy. After a stay of thirty days in that city, he continued Mazæus in the government of that province; but giving the command of the castle and garrison to a Macedonian, he took Bagaphanes along with him, and marched towards Susa, where he arrived twenty days after his departure from Babylon. As he drew near the city, Abulites, governor of that place, sent his son to meet, and acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver the city, and all the king's treasures, into his hands. The king received the young nobleman with great marks of kindness, and using him as a guide, advanced to the river Choaspes, where Abulites himself met him, with presents worthy of so great a prince: among other things he presented him with dromedaries, or running camels, of incredible swiftness, and twelve elephants, which Darius had sent for out of India. Having entered this city, the governor delivered up to him fifty thousand talents in bullion, and forty thousand in ready money, with all the king's furniture, to an immense value. Here he found part of the rarities which Xerxes had brought out of Greece, namely, the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which he sent to Athens, where they were still standing in Arrian's time. As for the purple and scarlet robes, he sent them all to Sifigambis, together with some others, curiously wrought, which had been sent him out of Macedon.

Leaving a strong garrison in the city of Susa, he advanced towards the province of Persis. He arrived, in four days march, on the banks of the Pasitigris, which river he crossed with nine thousand foot and four thousand horse, and entered the country of the Uxians. This province extends from Susiana to the frontiers of Persis, and was governed by one Madates, who had married the niece of Sifigambis. Madates, who was not, like the other Persian governors, a time-server, but faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out to the last extremity.

With

Marches to Babylon, which submits to him.

The city of Susa and all the king's treasures delivered up to him.

He reduces the Uxians.

With this design he retired into a strong hold, in the midst of craggy mountains, and surrounded on all sides by steep precipices. Here he held out for some time with great bravery; and when the city was taken by assault, withdrew into the citadel, whence seeing there were no hopes of being relieved, he sent thirty deputies to Alexander to treat of a surrender. The king, who was greatly provoked against Madates, would not, at first, hearken to any proposals; but, in the mean time, receiving letters from Sisigambis, wherein she intreated him to pardon her relations; he not only complied with her request, but set all the prisoners at liberty, restored Madates to his former dignity, left the city untouched, and the citizens in the full enjoyment of their ancient liberty and privileges ^m.

Having reduced the Uxians, he ordered Parmenio, with part of his army, to march through the plain, while he, at the head of the light-armed foot, advanced by the way of the mountains, which extend to the frontiers of Persia. The fifth day he arrived at the Streights of Persia. These Ariobarzanes held with four thousand foot, and seven hundred horse, which he had posted on the tops of the hills out of the enemy's reach. As soon as Alexander advanced to attack him, the Persians, from the tops of the mountains, rolled down stones of such a prodigious size, that they crushed at once whole ranks. The king, being much affected at this execution, commanded a retreat to be founded, and withdrew about thirty furlongs from the pass, where he lay encamped some time, not knowing how to advance, and being ashamed to return; but, in the mean time, a Greek deserter, coming to his camp, offered himself readily to conduct him through bye-paths to the very top of the mountains; whence he might easily so annoy the Persians, as to oblige them to abandon the Streights, and leave an open passage to the whole army. The deserter performed his promise; for Alexander, at the head of some chosen troops, having followed his guide all that night through rocks and precipices, arrived, a little before day-break, at the top of a mountain, which commanded all the hills where the enemy was posted, which they immediately abandoned. At the same time Craterus, who had been left in the camp, advancing with the troops under his command, possessed himself of the Streights. Ariobarzanes, with part of the cavalry, breaking through the Macedonians, made his escape over the moun-

*Seizes the
Streights of
Persia.*

*Ariobar-
zanes' gal-
lant con-
duct.*

= Curt. lib. v. cap. 9.

tains,

tains, with a design to throw himself into Persepolis; but finding all the passes leading to that city guarded by the enemy, he returned back upon those that pursued him, and was killed, with all that followed him, after having cut in pieces a great number of the Macedonians.

Alexander being now possessed of the streights, pursued his march into Persia properly so called. When he was at some distance from Persepolis, the metropolis of that province, he received letters from the governor of the place, acquainting him, that the citizens, upon the news of his approach, were ready to plunder Darius's treasures, with which he had been entrusted; he begged, therefore, the Macedonian would march with all possible expedition, that he might not lose such a valuable prize. Alexander, upon this intimation, leaving his infantry behind, marched all night at the head of his cavalry; and having passed the Araxes on a bridge, which, by his order had been built some days before, arrived by day-break within two furlongs of Persepolis. Next day, having assembled the generals of his army, he represented to them, that no city had ever been more fatal to Greece than Persepolis, the ancient residence of the Persian monarchs, and the capital of their empire; that from thence those mighty armies had been sent, which had over-run and laid waste great part of Europe; and that therefore it was incumbent upon them to revenge, on that proud metropolis, the many injuries and calamities which their ancestors had suffered. The commanders, encouraged by this declaration, allowed their soldiers to practise all manner of cruelties against the miserable inhabitants, who were massacred in the most barbarous manner. After this cruel execution, Alexander, leaving Craterus and Parmenio in the place, proceeded with a small body, to reduce the neighbouring cities and strong holds, which submitted at the approach of his troops; he then returned to Persepolis, and there took up his winter-quarters. In this city he is said to have found one hundred and twenty thousand talents, lodged in the treasury, to defray the expences of the war^a.

Persepolis submits, but the inhabitants cruelly used

During his stay at Persepolis, he gave himself up to feasting and drinking, making daily entertainments for his officers to refresh them after the great fatigues they had endured. In one of these entertainments, both the king and his guests having drunk to excess, fire was set, at the

and the palace burnt.

^a Curt. lib. v. cap. 13. Justin, lib. xl. cap. 14.

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instigation of an abandoned courtesan to the king's palace, which soon reduced it to ashes.

From Persepolis, Alexander marched early in the spring to Pasargada, in pursuit of Darius, who was fled to Ecbatan in Media. That unhappy prince had still an army of thirty thousand foot, among whom were four thousand Greeks, who continued faithful to the last. Besides these, he had four thousand slingers, and three thousand horse, most of them Bactrians, commanded by Bessus, governor of that province. When he heard that Alexander was in full march towards Ecbatan, he left that city, with a design to retire into Bactria, and there raise another army. But he was not far advanced when he altered his resolution, and determined to venture a third battle with the forces he had assembled. While he was making the necessary preparations for this purpose, Bessus, and Nabarzanes, a Persian lord of great distinction, formed a conspiracy against him; proposing to seize his person, and, if Alexander pursued them, to merit his pardon and protection, by betraying their master into his hands; but, if they escaped, their design was to murder him, usurp the crown, and renew the war. They easily won over the troops, by representing to them, that Darius was dragging them to destruction; that they were no ways in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy; that they would inevitably perish, if they followed Darius, crushed under the ruins of an empire, which was ready to fall. Though these practices were carried on with great secrecy, yet they reached the sovereign's ear; but he could not believe his officers were such traitors. Patron, who commanded the Greeks, earnestly intreated him to encamp amongst them, and trust the guard of his person to men on whose fidelity he might depend. Darius replied, that he had rather suffer any misfortune among those of his own nation, than seek for shelter among strangers, how faithful and affectionate soever they might be; and that he could not die too soon, if his own Persians thought him unworthy to live. He soon had occasion to repent of his not following Patron's advice; for Bessus and Nabarzanes, seizing his person, bound him in chains of gold, and shutting him up in a covered cart, fled with him towards Bactria. The cart was covered with skins, and strangers were appointed to drive it, without knowing who the prisoner was they had in their custody*. Bessus

* Curt. lib. v. cap. 18, 22, 23. Arrian. lib. iii. p. 67.

was proclaimed commander in chief, in Darius's room, by the Bactrian horse; but Artabazus, and his sons, with the forces they commanded, and the Greeks under the command of Patron, retired from the body of the army under Bessus, and marched over the mountains towards Parthiene^p. In the mean time, Alexander arriving at Ecbatan, was informed that Darius had left that city five days before. Here the Thessalians expressing great reluctance to accompany him any farther, he gave them leave to return to their own country; and, at their departure, divided two thousand talents among them, over and above their full pay: to such as were willing to continue in his service, he gave three talents a-piece^q. He then commanded Parmenio to lay up, in the castle of Ecbatan, the remaining part of the treasures, which, according to Strabo^r, amounted to one hundred and eighty talents; and afterwards to march with the Thracians, and great part of the cavalry, into the country of the Cadusians. He dispatched orders to Clitus, who had fallen sick at Susa, to repair, as soon as he recovered, to Ecbatan, and from thence to follow him into Parthia, with the cavalry and six thousand Macédonians, that were left at Ecbatan. Alexander, with the rest of his army, pursued Darius; and on the eleventh day arrived at Rages, having marched in that space of time, three thousand three hundred furlongs. Most of those who accompanied him, died through the fatigues of so long and expeditious a march; insomuch, that on his arrival at Rages, he could muster but sixty horsemen^s. Finding that he could not come up with Darius, who had already passed the Caspian Streights, he staid five days at Rages, in order to refresh his army, and settle the affairs of Media. From thence he advanced, and encamped the first day at a small distance from the Caspian Streights, which he passed the next without opposition. He had scarce entered Parthia, when he was informed by Bagisthenes, a Persian nobleman, that Bessus and Nabarzanes had conspired against Darius, and designed to seize upon his person. In consequence of this information, leaving the main body of the army behind, under the command of Craterus, he advanced, with a small troop of horse lightly armed; and having marched two days and nights without halting, except a few hours,

^p Curt. lib. v. cap. 23. Arrian. lib. iv. p. 68. ^q Curt. lib. vi. cap. 3. Arrian. lib. iii. Plut. in Alex. ^r Strabo, lib. xv. p. 744. ^s Arrian. lib. iii. Plut. in Alex.

arrived on the third, at a village, where Bessus with his Bactrians had encamped the day before. Here he understood, that Darius had been seized by the traitors; that Bessus had caused him to be shut up in a close cart, which he had sent before, that he might be the more sure of his person; and that the whole army, except Artabazus, and the Greeks, who had taken another route, obeyed Bessus, and acknowledged him for their general. This was a fresh motive for Alexander to hasten his march: taking therefore along with him a small body of light-armed horse, (for the others could not possibly proceed any farther) he set out again the same night; and early next morning was acquainted by Orcillus and Mithracenes, two Persian officers, who, in detestation of the treachery of Bessus, had gone over to him, that the Bactrians were not above five hundred furlongs off; and that they could lead him to them by a nearer way. Taking them, therefore, for his guides, he set out again the same night; and, after having marched three hundred furlongs, was met by the son of Mazæus, formerly governor of Syria, who informed him, that Bessus was not above two hundred furlongs off; and that his army, as not apprehending any danger, was marching in great disorder. Alexander redoubled his pace, and at last came in sight of the enemy. His unexpected arrival struck the barbarians, though far superior in number, with such terror, that they immediately betook themselves to a precipitate flight; and, because Darius refused to follow them, Bessus and those that were about him, discharging their darts at the unfortunate prince, left him wallowing in his blood, to the mercy of the Macedonians. Then they separated, and took different routes, Bessus flying towards Hyrcania, and Nabarzanes retiring into Bactria, that they might elude the pursuit of the enemy, or, at least, oblige him to divide his forces. They were attended only with a few horse, the rest, now destitute of leaders, dispersing themselves, as fear or hope directed their steps. Alexander, seeing in what confusion the enemies were, sent Nicanor, with a troop of light-armed horse, to stop their flight; and followed in person, at the head of three thousand Macedonians. Nicanor put near three thousand of the stragglers to the sword, but could not come up either with Bessus or Nabarzanes: at length the king sent him orders to give quarter to all those that should throw down their arms, and submit. In the mean time, the horses that drew the cart in which was Darius, halted of their own accord, for
the

*Darius Co-
domanus
statu.*

the drivers had been killed by Bessus, near a village about four furlongs from the high-way, whether Polystratus a Macedonian, being pressed with thirst, in the pursuit of the enemy, was soon after conducted by the inhabitants, to refresh himself at a fountain. As he was filling his helmet with water, he heard the groans of a dying man; and looking round him, discovered a cart, with a team of wounded horses. As he drew near, he saw Darius lying in the cart, and very near his end, having several darts still sticking in his body: however, he had strength enough to beg some water, which Polystratus, being a Persian captive, informed of this barbarous tragedy, readily supplied. Darius, having assuaged his thirst, turned to the Macedonian, and told him with a faint voice, that, in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, it was no small comfort to him, that his last words would not be lost. He then charged him to return his hearty thanks to Alexander, for the kindness he had shewn to his wife, mother, and children; and acquaint him, that with his last breath, he besought the gods to prosper him in all his undertakings, and make him sole monarch of the universe. He added, that it did not so much concern him as Alexander, to pursue and bring to condign punishment those traitors, who had treated with such cruelty, their lawful sovereign, that being the common cause of all crowned heads. Then taking Polystratus by the hand, "Give Alexander," said he, "your hand, as I give you mine; and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give, in this condition, of my gratitude and affection." Having uttered these words, he expired in the arms of Polystratus. Alexander coming up a few minutes after, and beholding his body, burst into tears, bewailing the cruel lot of a prince, who, said he, deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his own military cloak, and covered the corpse, causing it to be embalmed, and sent in a rich and magnificent coffin to Sisigambis, that it might be interred with the other Persian monarchs^t.

Thus died Darius, in the fiftieth year of his age, and sixth of his reign. He was a mild and pacific prince; and his reign was un sullied with injustice, cruelty, or any of those vices to which most of his predecessors had been addicted. In him the Persian empire ended, after it had lasted, from the first of Cyrus, two hundred and six years,

^t Curt. lib. v. cap. 25. Justin. lib. xi. cap. 15. Arrian. lib. iii. p. 69, 70. Plut. in Alex. Justin. lib. ii. cap. 5.

under thirteen kings; namely, Cyrus, Cambyſes, Smerdis, Darius Hyſtaſpes, Xerxes I. Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes II. Sogdianus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, Arſes, Darius Codomannus. Upon the death of Darius, all his commanders ſubmitted to the conqueror, by whom they were reſtored to their former honours and employments: but, above all others, he diſtinguiſhed Artabazus, in honour of his conſtant and unſhaken fidelity to his maſter; and Oxathres, Darius's brother, whom he ever treated in a manner becoming his high ſtation, and noble birth: he was even, to his great diſhonour, prevailed upon to receive and pardon Nabarzanes, who, together with Beſſus, had murdered Darius; but Beſſus having fled into Baſctria, and there aſſumed the title of king, Alexander, in the beginning of the next ſpring, marched againſt him. He had no ſooner reached the confines of Baſctria, than eight thouſand men of that province, who had hitherto followed Beſſus, abandoning him, withdrew to their reſpective homes. At the head of the few that continued faithful to him, he croſſed the river Oxus, and retired into the province of Sogdiana, with a deſign to raiſe a new army. In order to prevent Alexander from purſuing him, he burnt all the boats he had made uſe of in paſſing, hoping, that as the river was no where fordable, and the country afforded no timber, Alexander would be obliged to deſiſt from the purſuit. But no difficulties were unſurmountable to that conqueror, who, finding no timber to make boats or floats, cauſed the hides, which covered the ſoldiers tents and carriages, to be filled with ſtraw, and tied together. By this expedient, he ſupplied the want of timber, and paſſed his whole army over that large and deep river, in the ſpace of five days (R). When the Baſctrians, who were encamped at a place called Nautaca, heard that Alexander had croſſed the river, and was on full march to fall upon them, Spitamenes, together with Gatanes and Dataphernes, formed a conſpiracy to ſeize Beſſus, and purchaſe their own ſafety.

(R) It is more likely that he practiſed an expedient which he learned of the Perſians, who uſe it to this day. They have a method of blowing up the ſkins of beaſts with wind, in ſuch a manner, that they will ſuſtain a great weight upon the

water: a man that wants to paſs a deep river, throws himſelf upon one of theſe inflated ſkins, which ſupports him from ſinking, and by ſtriking with his feet, puſhes himſelf over to the other ſide.

by

by delivering him up to Alexander. Accordingly, tearing in pieces his diadem and royal robes, of which he had stript his sovereign Darius; and, carrying him loaded with chains to the Macedonian camp, Spitamenes presented the traitor to Alexander, not only bound, but quite naked, holding him by a chain round his neck; a sight no less agreeable to the Persians, than to the Macedonians. Alexander having amply rewarded Spitamenes and his companions, and caused the traitor's nose and ears to be cut off, delivered him into the hands of Oxathres, Darius's brother, to suffer what farther punishment he should think proper to inflict. The traitor being put to death, Alexander saw himself in quiet possession of the whole Persian empire. Such is the account we have collected from the Greek and Latin historians, concerning the affairs of the ancient Persians: in the following section we shall hear the orientals on the same subject (S).

S E C T. V.

The History of Persia, from Oriental Writers.

THAT the ancient Persians kept records, appears from the concurring testimony of historians both sacred and profane. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah speak frequently, not only of the immutability of the Persian laws, which implies that they were recorded, but also of public acts and registers. In the book of Esther, we have frequent mention of these; and also of the Chronicles of the kingdom, or rather of the kings of Persia, wherein every thing of moment was set down. As to profane writers, Herodotus * and Xenophon † are sufficient to satisfy any impartial person, respecting the wisdom and virtue of the ancient Persians, and their care of all things which had regard to the welfare and honour of their country.

Supposing it therefore as clear as the nature of the thing will admit, that the Persians had amongst them, of old, the histories of their kings and heroes, we are next to shew how these can be reasonably believed to be yet extant. Of this fact, however, we are not positively cer-

How the ancient histories have been preserved.

* Lib. i. ix. passim.

† Cyropæd. passim.

(S) In stating the times of the Persian empire, we have followed all along Ptolemy's Canon, and the records of the Greek and Latin authors.

tain : all that we can say is this, that the Persians having lived under their own laws down to the time of Yezdegerd, there seems to be no difficulty in allowing that, till then, their histories were frequent amongst them; for though the Macedonians might burn and destroy their records, yet it is incredible that they should destroy all the books in the empire. Besides, we know, that the modern Perses have the Zend or original code of Zerdhusht, with many other ancient books. Now, it being generally agreed, that Zerdhusht flourished in the days of Darius Hytaspes, it will be hard to assign a reason why some of their ancient histories might not be preserved, as well as these books of their law. But farther still, Mohammed Ben Emir Khoandschah, commonly called Mirkhond or Mirkhound, with other modern Persian authors, constantly and uniformly assert, that they write from such authorities; and therefore we have no just reason to doubt them, unless we could prove the falsity of their pretensions (T).

*On what
authorities
this history
is founded.*

It is from the author before mentioned that we take, for the most part, what is delivered in the following pages concerning the oriental history of Persia. He is allowed to have been a person of great learning and judgement, by such as are well versed in oriental history; and his works are esteemed as oracles throughout the East. We may justly hope, therefore, that what we transcribe from him, with the addition of such circumstances as we can meet with elsewhere, will render this section as useful, and as agreeable as could be expected on so abstruse a subject. Without farther introduction, therefore, let us proceed to the catalogue of kings afforded us in his writings.

(T) This famous historian title of Raoudhat al Safa; he is quoted by various names, and those names have received some alteration from the different orthographies used in oriental appellations; sometimes he is called Mirchond, sometimes Mirkhond, and sometimes Chondemir: he wrote a general history from the beginning of the world to the year of the hegira 900, under the

was a person of great natural parts, and of much learning, perfectly well skilled in the Persian antiquities, and wrote from the best histories extant in his time; for this reason, we find him often quoted by the very learned Dr. Hyde, and indeed by all the writers of note on Persian affairs.

A Table of the Kings of Persia, to the Time of Alexander the Great, according to Mirkbond.

The First Race,

Or, the Dynasty of the Pischdadians.

1. Kejomaras or Cajoumaras	-	-	-	-	40
2. Siamek	-	-	-	-	-
Kejomaras resumes the kingdom	-	-	-	-	-
3. Hushangh or Houschenk	-	-	-	-	50
4. Tahmurash	-	-	-	-	30
5. Gienshid or Giamschid	-	-	-	-	-
Dahâk, Zahâk, Zoak	-	-	-	-	-
6. Aphridûn, Phredûn, or Feridoun	-	-	-	-	-
7. Manugjahr, or Manougeher, surnamed Phirouz	-	-	-	-	120
8. Nodar	-	-	-	-	7
9. Apherâsiab or Afrasiab	-	-	-	-	12
10. Zab, Zaab, or Zoub	-	-	-	-	-

The Second Race,

Or, the Dynasty of the Kaianites.

1. Kaikobad	-	-	-	-	100
2. Kaikaus	-	-	-	-	150
3. Kaikhosru	-	-	-	-	60
4. Lohrasp or Lohorasb	-	-	-	-	120
5. Gushtrasp, or Gustasp, or Kischtrasp	-	-	-	-	120
6. Ardschir, surnamed Bahaman	-	-	-	-	112
7. Queen Homai	-	-	-	-	32
8. Darab I.	-	-	-	-	4
9. Darab II.	-	-	-	-	14

A Table of the same Kings, with the Years of their Reigns, according to other Oriental Writers.

The First Race,

1. Kejomaras or Cajoumaras	-	-	-	-	560
Siamek, slain after a short reign	-	-	-	-	-
Kajoumaras resumes the kingdom, and reigned	-	-	-	-	30
An interregnum	-	-	-	-	200
2. Hushangh or Houschenk, surnamed Pischdud	-	-	-	-	50
3. Tahmurash	-	-	-	-	700
4. Gienshid or Giamschid	-	-	-	-	30
5. Dahâk, Zahâk, Zoak	-	-	-	-	1000
6. Aphridûn, Phridun, or Feridoun	-	-	-	-	120
7. Manugjahr or Manougeher, surnamed Phirouz	-	-	-	-	500
8. Nodar	-	-	-	-	7
9. Apherâsiab or Afrasiab	-	-	-	-	12
10. Zab, Zaab, or Zoub	-	-	-	-	30
11. Gustasp, son of Zoub	-	-	-	-	30

The

The Second Race.

1. Kaikobad	-	-	-	-	-	-	120
2. Kaikaus	-	-	-	-	-	-	150
3. Kaihosru	-	-	-	-	-	-	60
4. Lohrasp or Lohorasp	-	-	-	-	-	-	120
5. Gushtasp, or Gustasp, or Kischtasf	-	-	-	-	-	-	120
6. Ardschir, surnamed Bahaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	112
7. Queen Homai	-	-	-	-	-	-	32
8. Darab I.	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
9. Darab II.	-	-	-	-	-	-	

*The nature
thereof in
point of
style.*

It is sufficiently evident, from the years set down in the two tables above, that there is a great mixture of fable and uncertainty in the accounts we have of these princes reigns; but there may, notwithstanding this, be a great deal of truth in these relations; and by comparing them with what the Greek and other writers of the Persian affairs have given us of the same times, it may be very possible to extract a better idea of the ancient Persian empire, than could have been had without consulting the oriental writers at all.

Kejomaras.

Kejomaras or Cajoumeras, is allowed by all the oriental authors to have been the first king of the first race, surnamed the Pischdadians, from Pischdad, which signifies a *just judge*, and was the surname given to Hushangh, the second king of the race, afterwards, however, attributed to them all. The manner whereby Kejomaras ascended the throne was this: in the province of Adarbayagian, the inhabitants feeling the sad effects of anarchy, and finding that liberty could not be enjoyed, where every one was free to do what he pleased, unanimously resolved to elect one person, who should be obeyed by all, and to whose judgement they would submit. His conspicuous virtues determined them on this occasion to Kejomaras, whom therefore they immediately owned for their monarch, invested him with royal robes, and put a bonnet, called tagi, on his head, kissing his feet in token of submission; which customs last mentioned were preserved in use by his successors. His elevation had a proper effect on the mind of this new king: he applied himself to every branch of his duty; he erected courts of justice; he taught men to build houses, and to live in villages; he invented various manufactures, such as the making woollen cloth, and spinning and weaving silk: in a word, he civilized his people, and

merited by his wisdom, justice, and goodness, that dignity, which, out of modesty, and a foresight of the cares it would be attended with, he for a long time refused ^a. The happiness enjoyed by such as lived under so excellent a prince, invited the neighbouring people to put themselves under his protection. Thus his empire was extended by the same means that it began, viz. through an opinion of his worth; and he, upon their submission, treated his new subjects with the same care and kindness as he had always shewn to the rest. He sent his brother to take a view of these new acquired dominions, and went afterwards to visit them in person. In the province of Chorasan he met with his brother, and embracing him tenderly, he, to perpetuate the memory of that interview, erected the city of Balch, where it happened; that word being derived from a verb, which signifies *to embrace*. He was also the founder of many other cities of Persia, particularly of Kabulistan, Sigistan, Gom, &c. ^a This prince had two sons; the name of the elder was Nazek, a young man of wonderful prudence, who addicted himself entirely to study; for the convenience of which he withdrew from his father's court, and lived with his wife in a little hermitage, where he gave himself over to contemplation: his father, who was also a very learned man, went frequently to visit and converse with his son in his cell. Once going thither on the same errand he found his son dead, with several wounds on his body; and, on a strict enquiry he was informed, that this cruel fact was committed by certain robbers of Tabrestan. These Kejomaras pursued into their own country, defeated them, and after having put many to the sword, made slaves of the rest, and employed them in his buildings ^b. The other son of Kejomaras, or rather his grandson, was Siamek, with whom the wife of Nazek was big when her husband was murdered. This child, as soon as he was born, Kejomaras adopted, bred him up with the utmost care, and having instructed him in all the arts of reigning, he, with the consent of the people, transferred the sovereignty to him, and made him king in his own life-time.

Siamek proved a gracious and warlike prince. Within a short time after his accession, some of his neighbours en-

^a Tarik Montekheb, i. e. the Select Chronicle.
bond Hist. &c. i.
Caïamurath.

^b Mirkhond Hist. &c. i.
D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Oriental tit.

tered his dominions in a hostile manner; whereupon he immediately raised an army, marched against them, and gave them battle, where, fighting valiantly, he received a mortal wound; he was carried out of the battle, and died in the arms of his wife, whom he left, as his father had left his mother, big with child, conjuring her with his last words, if she brought forth a son, to put him continually in mind of his unfortunate death, and to exhort him to revenge it on the people, who, in so short a time, had deprived him both of his life and empire. Kejomaras being forced by this unlucky accident to re-ascend the throne, the first step he took was to celebrate the obsequies of his deceased son with great magnificence; his next care was to take vengeance of those who had slain Siamek; after which he is said to have reigned with great applause thirty years^d: but how long he reigned before he resigned the crown to Siamek, is uncertain.

Hushang.

Hushang, or Houschenk, surnamed Pischdad, was a person of great parts, as well as great courage; and equally famous throughout the East, for the extent of his knowledge, and his mighty feats of valour. He is said to have given a regular body of laws to his subjects; whence he was called Pischdad. He also divided his country, and established governors throughout, encouraged the working of mines, and invented most of the instruments of agriculture; as also the art of conveying water through subterraneous passages, for moistening their grounds. To him likewise they ascribe the taming of leopards, and other beasts of chase, and the introducing furs, for the keeping the body warm in winter. As he made his kingdom flourish through his wisdom, so he extended it by his courage; and, after a reign of fifty years, was killed by the fall of a piece of rock thrown from the mountains of Damavend, by an army of barbarians, who came to invade his territories. Some are of opinion, that he made the province of Chusistan the seat of his empire, by erecting there the famous city of Susa, or Sushan^e (U).

Tahmurash,

^d Shariftani apud Hyde Reliq. et. Persar. cap. 25. p. 175.
^e Lebf, Tarik Mirkhond. Hist. sect. iii.

(U) There is hardly an ancient prince in the world, whose name is more famous in romance than that of Hushang; there is a Persian book

which bears the title of Hushang Nameh, i. e. *Hushang's History*, which, for the many wonderful things it contains, has been translated into the Turkish

Tahmurash, surnamed Diübend, i. e. *the humbler of the devil*, supposed by some to be the son, by others the grandson of Hushang, and by a third party his cousin, succeeded that famous monarch, and governed with great reputation; for finding that the wars of his predecessor had introduced both poverty and confusion in his dominions, he, in order to remedy the first, remitted all taxes for three years; and to reduce things into order, made new laws, and took care, that the magistrates should every where put them in execution. He is the first Persian prince recorded to have had a visier, or prime minister: it is very possible, that the disorder in which he found the affairs of his empire, engaged him to make use of such an officer. This king fortified the frontiers of Persia, to prevent sudden invasions, and displayed so happy a mixture of wisdom and valour in his disposition, that several of the neighbouring nations, struck with the felicity of his subjects, voluntarily submitted, and acknowledged him for their sovereign. At last, after a glorious reign of thirty years, a pestilence, which raged throughout his dominions, and destroyed, with equal rapidity, both man and beast, cut the thread of his life at Balch, to the great grief of his subjects.

Gjemshid, or Giamched, or rather Gjem Schid, his name being Gjem, to which Schid, as a surname, was added, because of his wonderful beauty, Schid, in the Persian language, signifying *the sun*; his eyes having such a lustre, that none could look him steadily in the face; though some authors are of opinion, that he received this addition to his name, not from the beauty of his person, but from the glory that resulted from his actions. It is not very certain, whether this prince was the son of his predecessor, his nephew, or his grandson; but all agree

Turkish tongue. The same fabulous writers ascribe to this monarch a certain book, bearing the title of Giavidan Khard, i. e. *the Wisdom of all Times*: this is a very famous piece, and is certainly very ancient, and has been translated into various languages, particularly into Arabic, by the son of the visier of the caliph Almamon; and into Turkish, under the title of Anvar Sohaili; it has also been in part rendered into French, and is in itself a very excellent treatise, whence, in all probability, it came to be attributed to this monarch, so famous for giving laws, and teaching wisdom and civility to his people (1).

(1) Vide D'Herbelot. Art. Houschenk.

that he was of the family of Kejomaras, and had a just right to the throne. The reputation of his ancestors inspired him with a laudable ambition of equalling at least, if not excelling them. With this view, he encouraged all learned and wise men to come to his court, where they were preferred. Amongst the rest were two persons of singular abilities, on whom he chiefly relied; one a Jew, says our author Mirchond, whose name was Fael Iffuf Rabban, and the other a Greek, called Fithagores, i.e. Pythagoras: but this must be a mistake; for though we have no certainty as to the chronology of those times, yet it is easy to discern, from several circumstances, that Gjemschid flourished at a considerable distance from Pythagoras. But such errors as these are not unfrequent in oriental writers, through their want of understanding thoroughly the history of Greece; of which, however, they have most of them a general idea. By the advice, in all probability, of these wise counsellors, Gjemschid divided his subjects into three classes; the first consisting of soldiers, the second of husbandmen, and the third of artisans^f. In his time music, vocal and instrumental, and astronomy, were first introduced into Persia. He was also the first who built granaries, into which he caused every year a certain quantity of corn to be deposited, that, in case of any deficiency in their harvests, a famine might be prevented. In his time likewise wine came to be esteemed, or rather brought into general use, throughout his territories, from the following accident: a woman, who was much in Gjemschid's good graces, was afflicted with an inveterate head-ach, which all the physicians in the court were not able to alleviate or remove: this woman went into the place where the king's wine was kept, and drank of it very freely; finding that it, in some measure, relieved her, she returned thither again, after a pause of some hours, and drank yet a greater quantity, which completed her cure. This circumstance she told to the king, and it being divulged to the court, every body began to regard wine as a universal medicine, capable of removing most stubborn diseases. Among the most illustrious events of this great monarch's reign, we may justly place the rectification of the calendar, which he undertook and perfected, instituting two years, a civil or ordinary year, and an ecclesiastic year, in which there was, in the space of one hundred and thirty years, a month interca-

^f Mirkhond. Hist. sect. v.

lated^s. He likewise instituted the Nauruz, i. e. the solemn observation of the new year; concerning which we have the following account: king Gjemschid, going in progress through his provinces, arrived at Aderbayagjan; and shewing himself on a royal throne to his people, the sun shone with such lustre on his crown, adorned with precious stones and feathers, that the people shouted aloud, and said, "this is Nauruz," that is, the *new day*; whence the king took the opportunity of instituting a festival, wherein, besides the presents made to the prince, it was usual for him to receive and grant the petitions of all his subjects, to release prisoners, and to do all other acts of clemency that could be expected from a sovereign. As to the particular ceremonies attending this festival, the reader may probably be pleased to know, that it lasted six days. On the first of these the king gratified his people, or, if the phrase may be allowed, his commons. The second day he paid the same regard to the learned men attending his court. On the third his priests and privy counsellors presented their petitions. On the fourth he heard the suits of his nobility and kindred. On the fifth, he attended to those of his children. The sixth belonged to himself. In the evening of the fifth day a handsome young man was appointed to wait at the king's door all night. At day-break he entered the chamber without ceremony; upon which the king, with an air of familiarity, asked him whence he came, whither he went, what was his purpose, and his name, wherefore he came, and what he carried: to which interrogations the youth answered, "I am Al Mansur, i. e. *august*; my name is Al Mobarek, i. e. the *blessed*; I came hither from God, bearing the new-year." Then he sat down, and immediately the nobility entered bearing each a silver vessel, in which were wheat, barley, peas, vetches, pulse, a sugarcane, and two pieces of gold, fresh from the mint. First the wazir, or vizier, then the treasurer, afterwards the nobility, according to their rank, each offered his silver vessel to the king. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a very great loaf, made of several kinds of corn, was brought in, and placed before the king, who having eaten some of it, intreated such as were present to eat the rest, in these words, "This is a new day of a new month, the beginning of a new year; it is fit therefore that we renew our ties to each other." Then rising up, in his royal

^s Hyde Rel. vet. Persar. cap. 14.

robes, he solemnly blessed his nobility, bestowing on them rich presents^a. The evening of this day the Persians called Phristaph, on which they did every thing that might testify joy, and their strong hopes of seeing a pleasant year. A great part of his reign Gjemschid remained in Sigjistan, thinking it the best situated province of his empire for his court, till affairs in the East were thoroughly settled: then he changed it for the Proper Persia, where he erected the noble city of Estechar, which most take to be the Persepolis of the Greeks, though some believe it the city of Schiras. If what the ancient Persian writers deliver of the extent of this city be true, viz. that it contained a square of twenty-four leagues; then it is possible, that both opinions may be true; but if we measure the probability of this account by the other things related of this prince; such as that he made the tour of the whole earth, was skilled in the occult sciences, and possessed a magic cup of incomparable virtues; we may safely restrain the bounds of this city; and though we allow it to have been very great, especially for those times, yet we may conceive it not to have taken up more than a third part of the space they have assigned it. It is universally allowed, that Gjemschid gave himself up entirely to the study of the arts of reigning; and it is said, that he was much assisted in his political oeconomy by contemplating the transactions among the bees; and that he transferred many customs from the hive into the court. Among other inventions, the signet-ring is ascribed to him, and that mode which still prevails throughout the East, of preferring the left-hand to the right, as the more honourable; he likewise directed, that the different degrees of people should be distinguishable by their garb; in a word, he made it the whole business of his life to render his kingdom flourishing, and his people happy; in which aims he succeeded to his utmost wish. But this great felicity proved the source of the deepest misfortunes; for, having reigned long and gloriously, he pretended that he was immortal; sent pictures of himself throughout his empire; and ordered them to be worshipped with divine honours. His absurd conduct soon lost him the hearts of the people; so that the province of Sigjistan, by the persuasion of a certain great captain, who was related to the king, and whose name was Ahad, took arms; and when they had formed

^a Casuini apud Hyde, p. 237.

themselves into a regular army, marched under the command of Zoák or Dahác, towards Schiras, where Gjem-schid met him with a powerful army, which he had raised. The engagement was fierce and bloody; but, in the end, Gjemschid was defeated and taken prisoner; upon which the conqueror ordered him immediately to be sawn asunder. This is the account given by Mirchond, and the best Arabian histories; others say, that he escaped from the battle, and wandered a miserable pilgrim through his own dominions. He left behind him a son, whose name was Phridun or Aphridun, of three years old, whom his mother Phramak found means to conceal from his enemies, and to breed up privately, till Providence enabled him to ascend the throne of Persia ^k.

Dehoc, Dahac, Zahak, Zoak; some authors affirm, *Dehoc.* that the name of this prince is only an alteration of a nick-name bestowed upon him by the Persians; viz. Dehak, signifying that he had ten ill qualities, which made him hateful and abominable; and that his real name was Piurath (X). As this monarch gained the crown by his sword, so he governed severely, and with little regard to his subjects. He was, however, a person of great genius, and deeply skilled in the occult sciences; in one word, he is represented to us as a completely wicked man; one whose abilities answered the evil intentions of his soul, and whose person struck beholders with horror; for he had a meagre pallid visage, eyes wild and sparkling, an air insolent and haughty; at the same time that his body was deformed, and his whole appearance terrible. The natural sourness of his temper was irritated by a sharp and incurable disease, consisting in two painful ulcers, one on each shoulder, the anguish of which resembled the pain occasioned by the bite of a serpent; whence the story inserted in a famous oriental romance, that the devil, having for many years obeyed him, demanded at last as a full reward, that he might have leave to kiss his shoulders; which request being granted, an ugly serpent im-

^k D'Herbelot, tit. Gjemchid.

(X) It is very uncertain of what family this prince was; some report that he was lineally descended from Siamek, the son of Kejomaras; others say he was an Arabian, the son of Uluan, descended in a direct

line from Ahad, the chief of the Adites. The truth seems to be, that he was an Arab by the father's side; but descended of the house of Kejomaras by the mother.

mediately took post at each, and gnawed itself a den in his flesh. Either some forcerer, or the devil in a dream, suggested to Zoak an inhuman remedy for this evil, viz. that of washing these ulcers frequently with the blood of men; or, as others say, applying to them the brains of men newly slain. At first the tyrant put to death criminals of all sorts; but when there were no more of these, he fell without mercy upon the innocent, that he might in some measure mitigate his torments. The priests and other persons in authority employed all the arguments they could use to engage him to have recourse rather to the blood or brains of sheep, but to no purpose; those, however, who were entrusted with the care of those unhappy wretches that were destined to slaughter for the tyrant's ease, often out of mere pity, let them make their escape; so that flying to the mountains, in order to preserve themselves and benefactors from danger, they there, by degrees, formed a particular nation, called since the Curdes¹. During his whole reign, Zoak caused Phridun, the son of his predecessor to be searched for, but to no purpose; his mother took care to hide him out of the reach of Zoak, and his other enemies; however the tyrant discharged his wrath upon her father, by putting him to death, together with many others, whom he suspected inclined to the interest of the young Phridun. The chief cause of these proceedings was a dream, wherein the tyrant beheld three men, who came to attack him; these, he thought threw him down and bound him; afterwards one of them gave him a mortal wound in the head; then the other two loosened his girdle, tied his feet with it, and carried him into the territory of Damavand. Having applied to the most skilful interpreters of dreams in his dominions, to know what this signified, they unanimously agreed it portended the loss of his kingdom, and of his life, because among the Persians the girdle is a mark of dignity. This Zoak conceived could never be done but by Phridun and his party. Among the numbers put to death on various accounts by Zoak, were the sons of a certain smith, whose name was Gao, or, as others write it, Kaoh. This man, driven to madness at the sight of his children's blood, ran up and down the streets, crying out for justice and help against the tyrant, holding up a leathern apron in his hand, as if it had been a standard. In a short time the people be

¹ Mirkhond. Hist sect. vi.

thus

thus assembled, became a very formidable army; so that he made himself master of the strong forts and great cities, particularly of the city Heri, or Herat, the capital of Chorasan, where he staid for some time, to put his affairs in order; and when he found that he was in a condition to offer Zoak battle, he made a long oration to encourage the people, assuring them, amongst other things, that he had not taken arms with any view to his private advantage; but that as soon as he had restored them to their liberty, he would leave them to elect whom they would for king. The people, with one accord, offered the sovereignty to him, which he as positively refused; telling them, that as the sense he had of his own injuries had put him upon first taking arms, so he would never consent to injure others; that Phridun, the son of Gjem-schid, was their lawful prince; that they ought to bring him immediately from his retreat, and put him at their head. Popular humours are easily turned; the army, on this speech, grew as loyal to Phridun, as they had been grateful to the smith. Phridun observing the spirit of his people, and being informed, that Zoak's army were by no means hearty in his interest, marched with the utmost expedition to meet him; and the armies engaging, after a furious action, Zoak's troops abandoned him, and he was taken prisoner. Phridun immediately ordered him to be conducted to the mountains of Damavand, and there imprisoned in a cave. This victory being gained about the time of the autumnal equinox, the Persians instituted a feast in memory of it, which they called Mihirgian, or rather Mihragjân^m.

Phridun, Aphridun, or Feridoun: this prince proved *Phridun*, one of the greatest, wisest, and most successful monarchs that ever ruled in the East. His first act, after being quietly seated on the throne, was to make Kaoh the smith general of his armies; he then sent him towards the western parts of his dominions, in order to reduce such provinces as, during the troubles of the kingdom, had shaken off the Persian yoke. Kaoh spent twenty years in this enterprize, in which space he added many fine countries to the Persian empire. At length the king recalled him, and made him governor of Aderbayagjan, which he ruled ten years, with equal satisfaction to the people and the prince, and then died much regretted by Phridun,

^m Hyde Rel. vet. Pers. cap. 8. p. 158. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. art. Feridoun, Gaoh.

who, to do honour to his memory, gave all his estates among his relations; then taking his sons into his own court, he bred them in a most honourable manner, and when they grew up, gave each of them greater possessions than their father had acquired^a. To shew his gratitude yet more, he made the leathern apron, which Kaoh had hung upon a stick at the beginning of the insurrection, the royal standard, of Persia, calling it *dirfesch Kaviani*, i. e. the *standard of Kaoh*, that he might perpetuate his name and services to all posterity. This standard he adorned with precious stones, to which his successors continually adding, it became at last of such inestimable value, that being taken by the Arabians in the battle of Cadesia, it enriched the whole army^o. As Phridun was desirous of restoring peace and good order throughout all his dominions, he sent persons, not only of great abilities, but eminent for their integrity, to govern all the provinces under his dominion. He married also, with a view of interest only, the daughter of his predecessor Zoak, by whom he had two sons, Salm and Tur; but these proving, like their grandfather, haughty, obstinate, and cruel, he took a Persian lady to his bed, by whom he had a son named Irege, equally wise and courteous; so that he became at once the darling of his father and the delight of the people. At length Phridun feeling himself beginning to decline under the weight of age and infirmities, summoned his grandees together, and having informed them of his design to quit the regal dignity, desired to know, which of his sons they wished he should make his successor. These lords unanimously answered, that, if he would no longer govern himself, they desired to have Irege for their prince: but, to prevent his brothers resenting this preference, he gave Tur all the eastern provinces of the empire; to Salm the provinces on the other side; and restrained Irege within the compass of Persia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia. From this division came the names of Turon and Iran, the one signifying that great extent of country which lies to the east of Persia; and the other, Persia itself, and the provinces dependent upon it^p. As for Tur, he built a noble city, which he made the capital of his territories, calling it after his own name Turon, and the country Turquestan.

^a Mirkhond. Hist. sect. vii.
^p Hyde Rel. vet. Persar. cap. 35. p. 417.

^o D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Oriental. art. Dirfesch.
 D'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. art. Feridoun.

This city was seated in the province of Mauaralnabar, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea ; and hence the nation inhabiting that tract of country acquired the name of Turks¹. However large these shares might be which Salm and Tur had received from their father, they still hated him, and their brother Irege, whose ruin they concerted together. Things being at last ripe for execution, Salm and Tur marched each with great forces to Aderbayagan ; and having joined their armies, sent a sort of manifesto to their father, wherein they set forth, that, with just reason, they were displeased with the kindness which he had shewn Irege, whom they styled a bastard ; and declared at the same time, that they would never lay down their arms till he was deposed and the countries divided between them, which hitherto had been in his possession. Phridun, justly displeased at this undutiful behaviour, sent immediately his orders to Irege to draw together all his forces, and march against his brothers. Irege, however, desired the king to have recourse to milder measures, in hopes of preserving the peace of the empire. Phridun was of a contrary opinion, and determined to reduce the rebels by arms. But Irege, unwilling to do his brothers any violence, went with some of his wisest counsellors to their camp, in order, if possible, amicably to adjust their differences. They, who wished for nothing more, immediately seized him and struck off his head ; which, being placed on a pole, they insolently sent to his father. Phridun was excessively grieved at his son's misfortune, and therefore resolved to carry on the war against Salm and Tur ; mean while he gave the dominions of Irege to his son Manugeher, who immediately marched with an army against his uncles. They, despising his youth, quickly came to an engagement, in which the two brothers were routed, and lost their lives by the hand of Manugeher. After this glorious victory, he returned in triumph to his grandfather Phridun, who was now grown blind. When he heard the acclamations of the people at the entrance of Manugeher, he asked who it was that presumed to enter his presence in such a manner. The young victor then cried out, " It is your grandson Manugeher, the avenger of the blood of Irege, who hath slain Salm and Tur with his own hand." Phridun then received him with open arms, and with all the demonstrations of paternal fondness. Afterwards he took the

¹ Mirkhond Hist. ubi supra.

tagi, or tiara, from his own head, and put it on that of Manugeher, or Manugjar, declaring him sovereign of Persia; appointing at the same time one Soam, or Soham, a person of great wisdom and valour, to be his visier*. Within a short space after this event, Phridun died, full of years and glory.

As to the personal qualifications of this prince, he is celebrated, by oriental writers, as the Solomon of Persia, one who made it his whole study to govern his people in such a manner, as that they might enjoy greater felicity than if they had lived in a state of freedom. He extended his dominions, with a view of extending happiness to those whom he reduced under his obedience. He was a zealous worshipper of the true God, and took such care to suppress Zabiism, that some Mahomedan authors have not scrupled to assert, that he was a mussalman. It is also recorded of him, that he left this advice with his successor: "Believe, my son, that the days of your reign are so many leaves of a book; be careful, therefore, to write nothing in any page thereof, that you would not have seen by posterity†." Many other wise sayings of this great prince are scattered in various authors, which we have neither time nor opportunity to insert. Some Persian writers think, that Phridun was contemporary with Abraham. On the other hand, the learned Dr. Hyde has entertained a notion, that this Phridun is the Phraortes of Herodotus‡.

Manugeher.

Manugjahr, or Manugeher, according to some authors, was not the son of Irege, but his grandson, by a daughter. It is not of much importance which of these opinions is true. Certain it is, that he was a wise prince, and of a mild disposition: his minister, or visier, was Soham, before mentioned, whose fame is still great throughout all the East. Manugeher, probably by his advice, made several just regulations in the government of Persia: he ascertained, more exactly than any of his predecessors had done, the boundaries of the provinces, into each of which he sent a president, or governor, independent of whom he established, in every great town or borough, a mayor or provost; so that the governors had no opportunity of setting up for themselves; and the provosts were obliged to behave prudently, for fear the governor should write

* D'Herbelot Biblioth. Orient. Art. Soham.

† Art. Pheridoun.

‡ Hyde Reliq. vet. Persar. cap. viii.

§ D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Manugeher.

against them to court. Observing the barrenness of Persia to be chiefly owing to the want of water, he considered every way of supplying this defect: he caused fine canals to be cut from the mighty rivers Tigris and Euphrates, to refresh the barren countries in their neighbourhood; he took care to collect all the streams issuing from the little springs on the tops of the mountains, that their waters might be made as useful as possible. To encourage his subjects to cultivate their lands with care, he employed much time in gardening, and took great pains to discover the virtues of herbs and flowers, causing such as were most valuable to be transplanted from mountains and uncouth places into his own gardens, or those of his courtiers. But, while he was thus cultivating the arts of peace, Apherasiab, the descendant of Tur or Tour, invaded his dominions with a great army of Turks, in order, as he gave out, to avenge the death of his ancestor. Manugeher, finding himself too weak to resist so formidable an enemy, retired towards the country of Tabrestan. Some authors say, that a battle was fought between him and Apherasiab, and that Manugeher was routed. However that might have been, all are agreed, that the king of Persia withdrew into a fortress, and prepared to defend himself against the attempts of his enemy. Apherasiab besieged him with all his army, but to no purpose, and the winter drawing on, the Turk, being afraid lest his men should desert him, began to think of peace. Commissioners were appointed on both sides, and a treaty concluded on these terms: that Apherasiab should possess all the country east of the river Gihon; and that he should leave Manugeher, without molestation, in possession of Persia and the provinces dependent on it. Such was the event of this cruel war, which threatened no less than the subversion of the monarchy of Persia. As soon as Apherasiab was retired into his own country, Manugeher began to provide against such invasions for the future, and ordered all the governors to get ready their quotas of troops. These measures alarming Apherasiab, he gave orders to his forces to make inroads into Persia; but the Turk had not the same success in this as in the former war. The precautions of Manugeher perfectly answered his end; so that the enemy were not only repulsed wherever they made their courses, but also lost a great number of soldiers, who were taken prisoners. Apherasiab therefore

very willingly renewed the peace, and left Manugeher to act as he thought proper in his own dominions. That wife and good prince made the city of Sigjistan for a time his royal seat; and when, by his presence, he had put all things on that side in good order, he sent thither Soham to preserve them in that state; and went to reside in the centre of the empire, where he assiduously employed himself in the cultivation of arts and sciences, and in every thing which might render his people powerful and happy. Soham managed so prudently in the province of Sigjistan, that he gained the good-will of the people, as well as the favour of his sovereign; but, in the midst of his happiness, an accident fell out which surprised him not a little: his wife was brought to bed of a son with long yellow hair. Soham therefore gave him the name of Zal-zer, i. e. *golden hair*. This young man, when he grew up to years of discretion, gave manifest tokens of an exalted genius, insomuch that Manugeher sent for him and his father to appear at court. Thither they went; and the sight of the young nobleman augmented the esteem and gratitude Manugeher had for his father and family. Loaded with new honours and dignities, Soham and his son returned into their own country, and lived there with the same splendor and reputation they had maintained before. One day it happened that Zal-zer went to hunt in the province of Kablufstan, dependent on the kingdom of Touran, but bordering northwards on the Persian dominions. Meherab, who was at this time governor of that province, being informed of his coming, went out to meet him, that he might shew his respect to the father by the honours paid to his son. The conversation he had with Zal-zer charmed him so much, and made so strong an impression on his mind, that he could not help talking of him to his family upon his return home. His praises had such an effect on the mind of Roudabah, his daughter, that she fell violently in love with Zal-zer on his report; and as women's passions are ever sudden and ungovernable, she sent immediately one of her maids into the place where Zal-zer was encamped, that she might find an opportunity of conversing with him in private. Her project succeeded perfectly well: the young nobleman, perceiving the maiden gathering flowers, entered into discourse with her, enquiring her condition, and with whom she lived. The girl, properly instructed, answered him, that she was the servant of Roudabah, the daughter of Meherab; then, talking of the family, ex-

patiated

patiated on the wit, beauty, and sweet disposition of her lady. Zal-zer immediately conceived a great esteem for this amiable person, which by degrees ripened into so warm a passion, that he could neither eat nor sleep, until he had concerted the means of speaking to her in person. An interview between two persons, who equally desired it, is very quickly procured. The lovers made the best use of their time; that is, they exchanged the most solemn vows of fidelity, and engaged to marry each other, as soon as the consent of their parents could be obtained. To cover his amour, Zal-zer made a visit at the same time to the father of his mistress, by whom he was very kindly received; and, having staid with him all night, set out on his return to his father in the province of Sigjistan. He acquainted Soham with all that had happened, and declared that it was impossible for him to live, at least in any degree of happiness, without the possession of the daughter of Meherab. Some difficulty there was in procuring the king's consent to this marriage; for it was hitherto a thing without precedent for a Persian to espouse a Turk. However, the many services of Soham, and the great merit of Zal-zer, prevailed so far over Manugeher, that he at last yielded to all they desired. The nuptials were celebrated with prodigious magnificence, the inhabitants of Sigjistan and Kablustan vying with each other in their expressions of joy on this occasion: nor were the consequences of this match less happy, than its celebration was splendid; for, at the end of nine months, the lovely Roudabah brought forth a son, who was named Rustan, the mighty hero of all the oriental romances*. The reader will hereafter perceive how the loves of this illustrious pair obtained a place in the Persian history. Let us now return to Manugeher, who spent all his time in putting the affairs of his kingdom in the best order imaginable, with respect both to peace and war; that is, he took pleasure to encourage virtue, and to render every man's condition so happy, as to engage him to fight for that government, on the continuance of which it depended. The personal qualifications of this monarch have been already displayed. It remains, however, that we do him justice in one particular, of greater importance than all the rest: he was a most zealous worshipper of the true God, of which piety we have the most shining instances

* Mirkhond. Hist. sect. viii. D'Herbelot. Art. Manugeher.

in the history of his life and reign, written by Tabari⁷, an ancient Persian author.

Nudar.

Nudar or Naudar succeeded his father; but his reign was far from being happy. He was scarce seated on his throne before his grandees began to form parties, and to raise seditions in his empire; which weakened it so much, that the Turks immediately conceived hopes of conquering it entirely. With this view Pashang, at that time king of Touran, the direct descendant of Tur, the son of Phridun, called his sons together; and having expatiated first on the right which their family had to the kingdom of Persia, and, secondly, on the low state the Persian affairs were then in, he told them, that the intent of his calling them together, was to know which of them had courage enough to assert the pretensions derived to him from his ancestors, and undertake the reduction of the provinces on the other side Gjeihon. Apherasiab, his eldest son, fired with ambition, and desirous of excelling his brethren, immediately offered to raise an army, in order to conquer Iran. Accordingly he assembled four hundred thousand horse and foot, and with this prodigious army entered Sigjistan. Nudar, as soon as he was informed of this invasion, caused his best troops to file off that way, and gave the command of them to Soham, the father of Zalzer; but he, being old and decrepid, was forced to march slowly towards the enemy; and even that pace fatigued him so much, that he died before he had reached the place of rendezvous; an event highly pleasing to Apherasiab, who very much dreaded the valour and conduct of this great man. Nudar, not doubting but Soham and his troops were already arrived at the place he appointed, marched off his army towards Mazanderan, where, on a sudden, and before he expected it, they came within sight of the enemy. The camps being opposite to each other, a Turkish champion, whose name was Basmon, challenged any of the Persian warriors to single combat; which challenge was readily accepted by Kobad, the grandson of Kaoh, of whom we said so much in the life of Phridun. The combat terminated in favour of the Persian, who having slain his antagonist, spoiled him of his arms, and carried them, as the trophy of his victory, to his tent. The Turks were prodigiously incensed at this incident, and resolved to revenge it speedily on Nudar and his army. Accordingly, having possessed themselves

⁷ Apud Hyde Rel. vet. Pers. cap. viii. p. 156.

of all the neighbouring posts, they attacked the Persians in their camp, where a most obstinate battle was fought, till at length there fell such a heavy shower of rain, attended with such an extraordinary darkness, that Nudar laid hold of this opportunity to retire, and to order his sons Thus and Gustam, who were at the head of separate bodies, to march speedily to his relief. They obeyed his command, accompanied by Karen the brother of Kobad, who had found means to withdraw the royal treasures out of Sigjistan, and to send them to a place of safety. Apherasiab observing the measures taken by Nudar, and conceiving that his intent was to spin out the war, he, in order to prevent its running into a length, which, in the end, would have been destructive to his troops, sent an officer, whose name was Karahon, with positive orders to attack Karen, and the body of Persians under his command. The order was executed with success. He killed their commander, and effectually dispersed the rest. Not long after this event, Apherasiab attacked Nudar in his camp; and having obtained a signal victory, took that monarch prisoner in his flight, with many Persian nobles. As soon as they came into his presence Apherasiab ordered them to be cut in pieces; but his brother, a prince of great humanity and wisdom, interposed, and prevailed on him to content himself with putting them in prison. The next step, after this victory, was to possess himself of the court and treasures of Nudar; with which view Apherasiab instantly detached a body of thirty thousand men; these, entering the province of Sigjistan, made themselves masters of the capital and of the royal palace, the Persians being every where so intimidated, that they dared not stir, but submitted tamely to the yoke which conquest had imposed. Meherab, it seems, after the marriage, had retired into Persia, and lived in great honour and affluence there, till this sudden overthrow of the empire threatened him as well as the rest of its inhabitants. Being a man of great policy, he bethought himself of an expedient to divert immediate danger, by sending a messenger to Apherasiab with very rich presents, and a letter to this purpose: "That, though he lived in Persia, he was by nation a Turk; and not only so, but, in some measure, allied to him in blood, being lineally descended from Zoak: wherefore he hoped his family, and this early testimony of obedience, would be sufficient to recommend him to his special protection." Having thus amused the victor, he gave notice to his son-in-law Zal-zer, who, assembling privately

privately several small bodies of men, appointed them a place of rendezvous, where he joined them; and finding they were numerous enough to attempt something against the common enemy, he began to act offensively, and, in a short time, drove the Turks out of the province of Sigjistan. Of which success, when Apherasiab received intelligence, it provoked him so much, that he ordered the unfortunate Nudar to suffer decapitation. As to the length of this king's reign, authors are divided, some making it seven years, others enlarging it to nine. Mirkhond, whom we generally follow, adheres to the former number. Some oriental writers make this prince contemporary with Joshua; others place him much higher ^z.

Apherasiab.

Apherasiab, or Afrasiab, notwithstanding this rebellion, or rather insurrection, looking upon himself as monarch of Persia, sent an account to his father Pashangh of the happy success with which his expedition had been crowned. But it was not long before he had news of another nature to send; for the Persians universally detesting his haughty and insolent temper, began to raise seditions in every part of the kingdom; their aversion engaged them in steps which carried their intrigues farther, and made them endeavour to stir up the brother of Apherasiab, who had, at first, saved Nudar's life, to put in his claim to the throne, promising him both assistance and obedience. He, burning with an ambition natural to his family, listened readily to the proposal, and advised them to engaged Zalzer to invade the provinces in the neighbourhood of Sigjistan in the spring; assuring them, that the war being once begun, he would appear in their favour. These negotiations could not be carried on so secretly, but that Apherasiab gained intelligence of them: he immediately concerted measures to counteract his brother's designs, and render his plan abortive; which he effected by causing him to be assassinated, and then applied himself indefatigably to the raising of troops, resolving to reduce all his opponents. Zalzer being informed of these proceedings, and vehemently regretting the loss of the young Turkish prince, openly excited the Persians to take arms, deriding their cowardice, and giving them to understand, that more than half the enemy's strength lay in the fears of the Persians. His discourses, by degrees, had such an effect, that the inhabitants of Persia, assembling together in small bodies, marched by night, through secret and bye-ways, to his camp; where,

^z Mirkhond. Hist. sect viii. D'Herbelot, Art. Naudhar.

when they were all arrived, Zal-zer found himself at the head of a very formidable army*. Apherasiab, who had his spies every where, receiving an exact account of Zal-zer's situation, immediately resolved to change his manner of making war, and to act altogether on the defensive. This caution gave the Persian captain a great deal of trouble; but at last he found an opportunity of bringing Apherasiab to a battle: it was very bloody, and so obstinate, that it lasted till it was dark, and then each army, retiring to its camp, found that neither side had any reason to boast of victory. This war continued for a long time without any decisive action; whereby all industry being destroyed, there followed first a scarcity, then a famine, and, at the end of this, a grievous pestilence; which, falling at once into both camps, disposed Apherasiab and Zal-zer, to peace. Negotiations were not long on foot before a treaty was concluded, whereby it was stipulated, that Apherasiab should withdraw his troops and effects without molestation, and retire into Touran, while Iran, and all its dependencies should remain under the protection of Zal-zer. This peace being concluded and ratified, it would have been easy for that nobleman to have raised himself to the throne of Persia; but he, scorning to barter immortal fame for a short-lived royalty, fought out Zab, or Zoub, the lawful heir of the house of Kejomaras, and set the crown upon his head^b.

Zab, Zoub, or Bazab, at the time of his accession to the royal dignity, was far advanced in years, but had, notwithstanding, a tolerable share of health and spirits: he applied himself to the restoring the shattered affairs of Persia: the more effectually to accomplish this end, he associated with him in the empire Gherischaß, his nephew, whom some have called Kischtaß, and have made him, not the nephew and associate, but the son and successor of Zab, or Zoub. He sacrificed much of the prerogative of the crown to make the people easy, and to enable them to recover their losses, after the depredations committed by Aferasiab and his troops: he threw open the royal treasury, and when any sums were brought in, he first paid his soldiers, and then distributed the rest among the poor. These were certainly virtues; but this prince is branded for a vice particularly infamous on a throne, viz. that of gluttony, or rather luxury in eating; and is recorded to

* Mirkhond. Hist. ubi supra.

^b Khondemir in Khelassat Alakbar. D'Herbelot. Art. Afraziab, Zal, Zoub, Mirkhond. Hist. scilicet. x.

have been the author of various sorts of sauces and soups unknown before in those regions. It is not very clear how long he reigned, or who was his successor. Mirkhond makes him expressly the last of the first race of kings, who, from the surname of Hushangh, were called, in general, Pischedadians, though to us it seems more probable that they received this appellation because, during the several reigns of these princes, the law and constitution of Persia were thoroughly settled^c. According to other authors, Gherchasp, or Kischtasf, succeeded in the empire by the voluntary cession of Zab, or Zoub; his mother is said to have been a Jewess, of the tribe of Benjamin: he proved a prince of great merit, and deserving of a better fate than he experienced; for he did all in his power to restore the Persian diadem to its ancient lustre. Afrasiab, little regarding his treaties, took advantage of the disorders of the kingdom to re-enter it with a formidable army, and to possess himself of various provinces. The new king fought under great disadvantages; which, however, he surmounted, frequently defeated the Turks, and recovered several places out of their hands: at last he fell into the error of many of his predecessors; that is, he put all his affairs to hazard in one battle, which he lost, and with it his life, being killed, fighting bravely for the liberty of his country, after a reign, some say of six, others of thirty years; but whether the former may not include the reign of Zab as well as of this prince, or whether the latter ought to be accounted the time that this monarch reigned alone, we pretend not to determine. In this particular all are agreed, that here the empire of the Pischedadians ended, and that Apherasiab, the descendant of Tur, became a third time absolute lord of Persia^d.

As to the religion of these ancient kings, we have already shewn it to be very near the true religion; that is, the religion of the patriarchs. The worship of fire was indisputably a very ancient doctrine; and there seems to be no reason for doubting the truth of what some authors have affirmed, that it took its rise in, if not before, the time of Kejomaras. Certain it is, that the province, where he began to reign, was the first in which magism prevailed; and was always held sacred by the professors of that religion, on that account: this the very name implies; for Aderbayagian is no more than *the place of fire*; *ader*, or *azer*, signifying *fire*, and *bayagian* a *place*, whence

^c Mirkhond. Hist. sect. x. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Naudhar.

^d D'Herbelot. Art. Gherchatsf. Kischtasf.

we frequently find this word thus written, Azerbayagjan. The high mountain of Albors was the principal place of worship in those early times; and the people were persuaded, that celestial fire was preserved there; on this account, when the treasures of Nudar, king of Persia, were removed out of Sigjistan, as we have before related, they were for security placed here. In respect to those ancient times, the Greek writers are very insufficient guides, if we may believe the most judicious writer of history that nation ever produced, namely, Thucydides; who very frankly declares, they knew very little of their own affairs beyond the memory of man^e; that is, they were able to give no account of them with order and certainty. Herodotus pretends not to say any thing of the history of the Medes, above one hundred and fifty years before the time of Cyrus, where he places Dejoces, whom he makes the first king of Media, and speaks of his advancement to that dignity in terms^f exactly correspondent to those made use of by Mirkhond, in his history of the election of Kejomaras. Diodorus Siculus gives^g us a list of ten Median kings, reigning, in all, two hundred and eighty-two years^h. But there is still a great chasm of time between the rise of the Persian or Medo-Persian monarchy, and its being destroyed by the Assyrian emperors. If we allow the Persians to have had kings of their own during this interval, or any considerable part of it, which is not at all improbable, we make room for the Pischdadians at once. But as to the precise time in which they reigned, we are quite in the dark; and therefore, instead of indulging conjectures, we shall resume the thread of our history, and shew by what steps Apherasiab was expelled, and the Persian dominions were once more restored to a prince of that country.

The History of the Persian Kings of the second Race, or of the Dynasty of the Kainites.

Keykobad, or Caicobad, whom some writers make the *Kaikobad*, son of Zab, the son of Tahamasp, the son of Manugeher, king of Persia, and others call simply the nephew of Nudar, was seated on the throne of Persia by the famous Zal-zer, who was so loyal to the family that raised him, that he twice refused the Persian diadem, because he

^e Thucydides, *Proem. Hist.*

^f Herodot. lib. i. cap. 97, 98.

^g Biblioth. lib. ii. cap. 3.

would not injure their family. At this time he and his son Rustan assembled such a body of troops, as enabled them to give Apherasiab abundance of trouble, and by degrees to put into the possession of Kaikobad the greatest part of the provinces of Persia. This monarch proved at once a good prince to his subjects in general, and extremely grateful to the persons particularly concerned in raising him to the throne. He entrusted the command of all his forces with Rustan, and did nothing in civil affairs without the advice of his father. By degrees, his troops, under the command of the famous hero before mentioned, gained such advantages, that Apherasiab retired before them, and was at last driven to such distress, that he desired to treat of an accommodation; but his commissioners, and those of the king of Persia, differing about the terms, Apherasiab hazarded a second battle, wherein, though his troops fought with great resolution, he was totally defeated. In the heat of this engagement, Rustan desired some of the officers about him to shew him Apherasiab; who being pointed out accordingly, Rustan spurred towards him with such an impetuous force, that he beat him from his horse; then dismounting from his own, he tied Apherasiab's hands and feet together with a cord, and having laid him before himself upon his own steed, rode out of the battle, and threw him into a particular place. Apherasiab, after Rustan had left him, struggled with such force, that he at last got loose; then taking the cord, he tied the hands and feet of a dead man, as his own had been fastened, and joining a party of horse belonging to his army, made his escape. After victory had declared itself in favour of the army of Kaikobad, Rustan rode up to salute him, and among other compliments of congratulation, informed him that the war was now at an end, he having made Apherasiab prisoner, whom he also promised immediately to produce. Riding to the place where he had left the Turkish monarch, he found, with surprize, a dead man tied in his place. For this oversight, he asked pardon of Kaikobad, and solemnly promised, that, if ever he should meet Apherasiab in battle again, he would not make the same mistake. But that prince finding his affairs desperate in Persia, retired into Turquestan, and sent from thence an ambassador to treat with Kaikobad; who was easily prevailed on not to carry his arms into Touran, when the right of him and his family to Iran, was acknowledged by Apherasiab, and all the scattered remnants of his army with-

withdrawn^b. The peace being once settled, Kaikobad applied himself to the restoring the affairs of his kingdom; and in the first place fixed his court at Spahawn, which had been built by the famous king Houshangh, adorned by Phridun, and afterwards given by him to Kaoh the smith, and his family. His court being once fixed, the king next bestowed his favours on such as had been instrumental in the expulsion of the Turks. To Rustan he gave the province of Zablustan, on the borders of India, watered by many pleasant streams, and adorned with the finest prospects. This province afforded a surname to Rustan, and received itself a new name from him, that hero being styled, in most of the romances, Zabeli, because he was governor of Zablustan, and that province, or at least a great part, was thenceforward called Rustandar, because it had been the government of Rustan. Maharab, surnamed Kabuli, because he had been governor of Kabul, was another of Kaikobad's generals, and highly esteemed by him. Kavun, one of the descendants of the famous Kaoh the smith, was also a person in high estimation; but what particular rewards he received, authors do not mention. It seems he was a sort of knight-errant, and acquired from thence the surname of Rezin Khuah, or *the searcher of adventures*. A fourth captain of Kaikobad was Keschvad, surnamed Zerin Kulah, from a golden tiara, which he was allowed to wear, in reward for the mighty things he had done for the good of the empire. Kaikobad divided all the spoil that had been brought into his treasury among his soldiers, regulated their pay very exactly, and afterwards employed them in making great roads throughout the empire, setting up public marks at the end of every four thousand paces; which space by the Persians is called phersengh, and from thence parasang by the Greeks. In the last years of his life he grew blind, and continued so till the day of his death, which happened, as some historians say, after a reign of one hundred years; according to others, when he had reigned one hundred and twenty^c.

Kaikaus, or Caikaus, the son, or, as some say, the *Kaikaus*. grandson of Kaikobad, succeeded him in the throne of Persia; on which he was scarce seated, before a war broke out in Mazanderan, a province bordering on the

^b Mirkhond Hist. sect. xii. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Aphasiab, Caikobad, Rustan.
^c D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Rezm Khuah, &c.

Caspian Sea, which required his presence. A rebel prince, taking occasion from the demise of Kaikobad, assumed the sovereignty of that district, and fortified the capital in such a manner, as to render it the strongest place of the East. Kaikaus marching against him with too great an army to be opposed, the rebel shut himself up in the city of Mazanderan, and prepared for a siege. Kaikaus having viewed the place, and received intelligence, that it was extremely well provided with all sorts of ammunition and victuals, gave over all hopes of reducing it by force : but, as in such cases, it is usual with experienced generals to have recourse to stratagems, Kaikaus devised one, which answered his end effectually. He gave out in his camp, and corrupted people to report in the city, that he was extremely distressed for provisions, and should, on that account, be obliged shortly to raise the siege. His emissaries in the place immediately insinuated to the keepers of the stores, that, by supplying the king of Persia with small quantities of victuals, immense sums might be gained. This trade being once set on foot, Kaikaus paid so well, that, in a short time, there was not a loaf left. He then summoned the city peremptorily to surrender ; and, on a discovery of their circumstances, the inhabitants were forced to submit*. He had not the like success in another war, undertaken in this province against Apherasiab ; for the Persian army being defeated, king Kaikaus was taken, and thrown into prison, from whence he was released by the vigilance of his general Rustan ; who, entering Touran with a numerous army, wasted all before him with fire and sword, declaring that he would destroy the whole country, if they did not set his sovereign at liberty ; a threat which so terrified the people, that their clamour prevailed on Apherasiab to dismiss Kaikaus, on his promising to recall Rustan. As soon as the Persian monarch had regained his liberty, he made use of the hero we have so often mentioned to curb his enemies on every side ; and he is recorded to have carried his arms into Mezz, i. e. Egypt ; Shamah, i. e. Syria ; and Rum, i. e. Asia Minor. After these wars were over, and all things in a quiet situation, Kaikaus, to shew the high esteem he had of Rustan's services, gave him his sister in marriage ; the name of this princess was Gehernaz, i. e. *endued with all virtues* : with her, by way of portion, he conferred upon him the office of generalissimo of all his

* Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xiii.

armies, and made him vicar-general of his kingdom, with the title of Pehelevan Gihan, i. e. *supporter of the Persian empire*. We are not told who it was Kaikaus himself married; but, whoever she was, he had by her two sons, named Siavek, and Fraiborz. The eldest of these, Siavek, was sent to reside with, and be bred up under, his uncle Rustan. How long things continued in this tranquil state, does not appear; but the next war we hear of, was waged against Zulzogar, king of Arabia. What provocation he gave Kaikaus is uncertain; but the king of Persia carried his resentment so far, that he had well nigh reduced the whole kingdom of Yemen, over which Zulzogar reigned. At length it came to the ears of Kaikaus, that this Arabian prince had a daughter, the most lovely woman in the world; upon which the Persian king sent to demand her in marriage. The king of Yemen, desirous to be rid at any rate of such an enemy, sent his daughter immediately to the king of Persia's haram. As soon as Kaikaus beheld Saudabah, he was so struck with her beauty, that he conceived himself the happiest man in the world, by having her in his possession. Overcome therefore with the violence of his passion, he abandoned himself to all sorts of excesses, giving great entertainments, and encouraging all kinds of diversions in his camp, without so much as remembering, that he was in an enemy's country. Zulzogar, who had foreseen this dissipation, assembled privately a considerable body of horse; and falling unexpectedly on the Persian army, absolutely defeated it, and made the king and all his court prisoners. The news of this disaster no sooner reached Persia, than Rustan put himself at the head of the forces that were left under his command, and marched immediately into Yemen. Zulzogar very well knew, that he had no troops capable of contending with the veterans under the command of Rustan; and for this reason he treated the king of Persia, while in his power, with the utmost civility and respect; so that he had no great difficulty in prevailing on him, to send his general orders to forbear hostilities, and to think of peace. A treaty was quickly concluded between the father and son-in-law, whereby the former quitted all pretensions to the kingdom of Yemen, and promised to invade it no more; while the latter engaged to be the friend and ally of the Persian nation, and to assist it to the utmost of his power; in consequence of which accommodation, Kaikaus was immediately set at liberty, with all those who had been taken prisoners with

him, and returned triumphantly into Persia, with his spouse Saudabah¹. Not long after this event, Siavek came to court, and was received with the utmost affection by his father. Saudabah, either charmed with the beauty of his person, or affecting to be so, solicited him to an incestuous amour; which advances he rejected with horror. The princess incensed at his indifference, resolved to be revenged. Waiting a proper opportunity, when the king was one day alone in his apartment, she rushed in, with her hair dishevelled, her attire torn, and her breast bloody, crying out for justice against Siavek, who had made an attempt upon her honour. The king immediately caused his son to be imprisoned, and obliged him to stand a trial; some say he underwent the ordeal by fire: however it was, the young prince was acquitted, and the wickedness of Saudabah clearly appeared. The king would have put her to death, if his son had not interceded for her on his knees. These proceedings having created some divisions and heart-burnings in the court of Persia, Apherasiab, who waited all opportunities of distressing that nation, failed not to take this, and to pass the river Gjeihon, with a great body of troops, in order to besiege Balch. Kaikaus, roused by the impending danger, ordered his son to march into Sigjistan, with twelve thousand horse; and there to join the forces under the command of Rustan, in order to make head against the enemy. Siavek readily obeyed, and joining his uncle Rustan, marched with such expedition, that they were soon in the neighbourhood of Apherasiab and his army; but, not thinking fit to hazard an engagement immediately, they took care to pitch on a very strong camp. Apherasiab, knowing that his affairs would not permit him to carry on a long and lingering war, attacked them there; which assault Rustan had foreseen, and provided so well for his reception, that he was not only repulsed, but his troops suffered so much in the attack, that he began sincerely to think of peace, in order to prevent the Persian army from invading his dominions. With this view he sent commissioners into the camp of Siavek and Rustan, in order to settle the terms of a perpetual alliance: they were very kindly received; and the young prince, his uncle, and two Persians of great quality, who were of his council, settled with them the heads of a

¹ D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Caicaus. Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xiii.

treaty very advantageous to Persia; which being ratified by Apherasiab, the young prince dispatched an express to his father with the articles of the pacification. It seems the intrigues of Saudabah had created this deserving young prince many enemies in his father's court, who took this opportunity of persuading the king, that Siavek had exceeded his commission, and injured the majesty of the Persian empire by the treaty he had made. Kaikobad, influenced by these suggestions, dispatched his uncle Thus to the army, with letters full of asperity respecting the young prince, and with directions to deliver up the command to Thus; and to signify to Rustan, that the king thought him now old enough to take his rest, and therefore desired him to retire to his government of Sigjistan. Rustan obeyed, and the prince continued in the army, which now marched to the frontiers of Turquestan, in order to act offensively against Apherasiab. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of the river Gjeihon, the prince taking with him Piran-Visseh, an officer of distinction in the Turkish army, who had remained with him as a hostage, went directly to the court of Apherasiab, to shew him how contrary to his honour it was to be guilty of a breach of faith. Apherasiab received him with open arms, placed him on a throne by his own, and gave him his daughter Franghiz in marriage. The nobility of Turquestan were so much charmed with this young prince, and gave him continually such strong marks of their esteem, that Garfiavesch, brother to Apherasiab, took umbrage at it, and resolved to have him taken off. Siavek, who was a prince of great penetration, discovered his intention; and, foreseeing that in a strange country it would be impossible for him to guard against such attempts, spoke of it to his wife, who was then with child; and conjured her, in case he should be murdered, to send his son, if she should be delivered of a male, into Persia. In a little time, what he feared actually came to pass: he was killed by assassins, hired by Garfiavesch, who would also have dispatched his wife, if Piran-Visseh had not luckily entered the room and prevented their design. Franghiz was afterwards brought to bed of a son, called Kaichofrau, who in time succeeded his grandfather. The people of Turquestan were so much grieved for the death of Siavek, that, to shew their concern, they mourned in Persian habits; a custom which has ever since remained amongst them. The news of the prince of Persia's death reaching Rustan in his government,

he, without expecting orders, entered Turquestan with a considerable army, burning and destroying all the country before him. Garfiaveich raised a body of troops as soon as he was able, and marched to oppose him; but, coming to an engagement, they were soon defeated, and Garfiaveich had his head struck off by the sword of Rustan^m. The desire this hero had to patronize the family of his pupil and nephew Siavek, put him upon inquiring for his son; but his mother kept him so effectually concealed, that neither his friends nor his foes could discover him. Some years after, however, Kaikaus sent Guiu the son of Gudarz, a young Persian nobleman of great capacity, into Turquestan, in order to search for his grandson. Some say, that Guiu, having sought the young prince a long time in vain, met him by chance one day as he was hunting; and, knowing him by the resemblance of his father, addressed himself frankly to him, told him his name and his commission. Kaichofrau listened greedily to the proposal which the other made, of retiring into Persia; but desired that he might carry along with him, his mother, and Piran-Vissch, the old and faithful friend of his father, that they might be safe from the attempts of their enemies. This proposal being agreed to, and all things concerted for their retreat, they quitted Turquestan, and got safe into Persia, to the great mortification of Apherasiab, who was well pleased with having in his hands the heir of the Persian diadem. He ordered them immediately to be pursued by several roads, but all to no purpose, though they passed the river Gjeihon in sight of their pursuers. On the arrival of Kaichofrau at the court of his grandfather, the face of affairs suddenly changed; those who had been avowed enemies of the prince Siavek, his father, were immediately removed; and Kaikobad, to shew his affection for the young prince, made him generalissimo of his armies, and raised Guiu, who had restored him to the highest honours. Thus, who had been no friend to Siavek, began to be apprehensive of the power of Kaichofrau; and therefore took all opportunities of influencing Fraiborz, the son of Kaikaus, by suggesting to him, that this new-come prince would rob him of the crown of Persia, which ought by no means, to be placed on the head of one descended, by the mother's side, from Tur, the implacable enemy of their

^m D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Caicaus, Siavek, Gher-seiaveich.

name and nation. Kaikaus, in the mean time, was unwilling to declare against either his son or his grandson: at last, in order to prevent, as far as in him lay, the inconveniencies that might attend a disputed succession, he resolved to give the competitors for the crown a fair opportunity of displaying their abilities, and to declare in favour of him who should appear to have the greatest desert. One Bahaman, who had been entrusted with the city of Ardebil, or Ardevil, in the province of Aderbayagian, had raised himself to be prince of that place, and thrown off his allegiance to the king of Persia. Kaikaus sent a body of troops under the command of his son Fraibroz, to invest the town on one side, and an equal number, under Kaichosfrau, to sit down before it, on the other; informing both the princes, when they set out for their respective commands, that whoever reduced the place, should be declared successor to the throne. Thus, according to his repeated professions of friendship to Fraiborz, set out with him for the army, and used every effort in his power to make him master of Ardevil, but to no purpose: Bahaman, apprised of the siege, had provided all things necessary for a long defence; and was himself so consummate an officer, that he baffled all the attempts of the Persian army under Fraiborz. Kaichosfrau had better success; the troops commanded by this young prince behaved more gallantly than those of his uncle, insomuch that Bahaman, finding it impossible to hold out, surrendered Ardevil into his hands. According to agreement, therefore, when he returned to court, Kaikaus declared him heir apparent to the crown; and thereby put an end to the contention which had so long subsisted. Soon after this event, the good old monarch, wearied with the fatigues of royalty, retired from the world, and left his grandson in possession of the kingdom, after a reign of one hundred and fifty years*.

Keychosfrau, or Kaikhosfru, succeeded peaceably to the throne of his grandfather, and shewed himself worthy of that preference which had been given to his virtue; for, in the first place, he took care to rectify all abuses in the courts of justice throughout his whole dominions, displacing all such officers as had rendered themselves odious to the people, and taking every method he could devise to alleviate the distresses of the poor, issuing for

* Mirkhond Hist. ubi supra. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Caicaus & Caikosfrau.

this purpose great sums out of his treasury, and giving audience with the greatest affability to all degrees of people. When he found his kingdom in tolerable order, he summoned a grand council of his nobility, wherein having represented the miserable death of his father, and the mighty mischiefs which had been done them by the inhabitants of Turquestan, he desired them to speak their minds freely, whether it would not be for their interest, as well as for his honour, to raise an army immediately for the reduction of that country; and they unanimously agreed to the proposal. The king of Persia, knowing that without unanimity no war could be carried on with any reasonable hopes of success, took pains to reconcile himself to Thus, and to his uncle Fraiborz; and to shew that his reconciliation was sincere, he entrusted them with the command of thirty thousand horse, and sent them to begin the war, by invading the dominions of Turquestan°. At their setting out, he spoke to them thus, "You must know, that before my father married the princess Franghiz, my mother, he had, by the daughter of his friend Piran-Visseh, a son called Ferud. This young man, I am informed, has at present a command in the army of Apherasiab; but, wherever he is, remember that he is my brother, and that wherever you find him, you do him no injury, but render him all honours due to my relation." It happened unluckily, that the Persian army no sooner entered the country of Turquestan, than Ferud came to reconnoitre them; at the head of a body of horse. His scouts informed him, that the Persians were by far more numerous than the troops under his command; but he, to shew his valour, instead of retiring, attacked very vigorously the army under the command of Thus; who, as soon as he understood that Ferud was at the head of the Turks, ordered his forces to retire, and presenting himself before the young prince, informed him of the order he had received from his brother, the king of Persia. Ferud, full of imprudent bravery, would not be persuaded to retire; but causing the Turkish horse to make a fresh attack, the Persians repulsed them with great slaughter, and Ferud, to the mighty regret of the whole army, was found dead upon the place. Kaichosrau received the news with great concern; and apprehending that Thus had been, in some measure, instrumental to his brother's

° Mirkhond, Hist. sect. xiv.
Orient. Art. Caichosrau.

p D'Herbelot. Biblioth.

death, he sent orders to his uncle Fraiborz to take upon him the command of the army, and to send back Thus a prisoner, to answer for his conduct. Fraiborz executed the king's command exactly with respect to Thus, and then marched farther into Turquestan. Apherasiab gave the command of the greatest army he had raised to Piran-Vissch, who had returned to his dominions, the most experienced of his generals, and perfectly acquainted with the Persian discipline. This excellent officer did all that could be expected from him: he gave Fraiborz and Gudar so much trouble, and knew so well how to encamp his troops out of danger of an attack, that at length the Persians were constrained to retreat, not without very considerable loss, Gudar, who commanded in the rear, having no less than seventy gentlemen of his own family slain^q. The news of this defeat obliged the king to take other measures; he therefore removed his uncle from the command of the army, and gave it to Gudar, to whose valour and conduct it was owing that any part of it escaped. He also sent Thus, who had fully justified himself as to the death of Ferud, with a reinforcement of troops, in order to enable him to carry on the war. Apherasiab, perceiving that the Persians were resolved to destroy his empire, called to his assistance the kha-khan, or king of Great Tartary, and Schangal, king of the Indies; and by the help of his confederates, pushed the Persian troops so closely, that, being far inferior in number, they were forced to retire to the mountains of Chorassan, where they threw up intrenchments, and fortified their camp. Kaichosrau, informed of their distress, sent orders to Rustan to march with the utmost diligence to their relief. That experienced general readily obeyed his master; and the Persian army, that was besieged in the mountains, when they heard of his approach, made no doubt of obtaining the victory. Rustan, as an earnest thereof, deceived the vigilance of the Turkish officers; and passing their advanced guards in the night, entered the Persian camp before the enemy was aware. Next day the most bloody battle was fought that hitherto had been seen in Persia. Rustan did wonders; he took prisoner the kha-khan, and Kaimus, one of the principal generals in the service of Apherasiab. In the end victory declared itself for the Persians; and Apherasiab, having lost half his

^q Mirkhond Hist. ubi supra. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Kaichosrau.

army, was obliged to retire with the rest into his dominions. Notwithstanding this mighty loss, the king of Turquestan meditated new invasions, exhausting his whole country to draw together an army sufficient for this purpose. Kaichofrau, on the other hand, set four great armies on foot, the chief of which lay in the neighbourhood of Balch, under the command of Gudar. Against him Apherasiab sent a detachment of his choicest troops, under the command of Piran-Vissch. The two armies had not been long in the neighbourhood of each other before an action ensued, wherein Piran-Vissch was killed, and his army defeated. When Gudar saw the body of Piran-Vissch on the ground, he alighted from his horse, and, remembering the services that nobleman had formerly done to Siavek, and to Kaichofrau when a young man, bedewed it with tears, and took care afterwards to see it interred with all the honours due to so great and worthy a man. Of which respect, when the king of Persia was informed, he highly commended his general, and spoke with very great regret of the death of his old friend. Apherasiab, when informed of this new disaster, sent his son Schidah, to command the remains of the army, which he caused to be reinforced as soon as possible. By this time Kaichofrau was come in person to his army, and marched at the head of his forces through the plains in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea. Schidah, thinking this a proper place to give battle, advanced with his army, and attacked the Persians with great resolution: but his success was not answerable to his valour; for he was killed in the beginning of the engagement, and all his army cut to pieces. The king of Persia surveying the field of battle, and the vast number of dead bodies, exclaimed, "Khwarefmi-bud!" i. e. *I have seen my desire*; whence the plains in which this battle was fought, and the province in which they lie, received the appellation of Khwarefmi, which they still retain. Kaichofrau now pushed on the war with the greatest vigour, marching directly towards the capital of Turquestan, whether Apherasiab had retired; but this prince, not thinking himself safe there, because the people murmured loudly at the evils they suffered, first sent away his haram, and then retired in his own person. His wives and children fell afterwards into the hands of Kaichofrau, who treated them with all imaginable kindness and respect. Apherasiab wandered

* D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. ubi supra. & Art. Piran-Vissch.

from province to province with a small body of troops, until, being shut up in the mountains of Adarbayagian, he was at last taken prisoner, and, by the orders of Kaichofrau, put to death*. Thus ended this long and bloody war, which had very near exhausted both empires. After it was finished, Kaichofrau fixed his court at Balch, for the conveniency of governing Touran as well as Iran. There it was that, seeing himself in possession of two great empires, this monarch did what none of his predecessors had thought of: he computed all the levies that had been made in Persia for carrying on the war against the Turks; and out of the immense treasures which were fallen into his hands, he restored to every family the amount of the taxes they had paid. He sent for his uncle Fraiborz, and after having commended him for his fidelity, erected several provinces on the shore of the Persian Gulf into a kingdom, of which he made him sovereign. He assembled the nobility of Touran, and having shewn them the folly of being at variance with the inhabitants of Iran, as they had hitherto been, advised them to consider of means for re-establishing the peace of their country, and assured them he would contribute to it as far as lay in his power. He then marked out the quarters, and settled the yearly pay of his soldiers; took an exact account of the state of all the provinces; and reformed several abuses in religion: when he had done all this, he said, he had reigned long enough for his own glory, and that it was now time for him to quit this world, and dedicate the rest of his days to God. With this view, he introduced his successor, Lohrasp, into a grand assembly of the nobility, put the tagi on his head, and retired to a cell in the desert, having attained to the age of ninety years, sixty of which he had passed upon the throne†.

*Kaichofrau
resigns the
crown.*

Lohrasp, or Lohorasb, was the successor of Kaichofrau, and his near relation, that prince having no heirs male. The authors who have recorded the principal events which happened under the reigns of the several princes of the first and second race, differ in no part of their account so much as where they speak of the actions of this prince. Lohrasp was nephew to king Kaikaus's brother, and next heir-male of the royal line. He was elected, but not without considerable opposition. His temper was known to be severe and haughty; many of the grandees were therefore for putting the sceptre into milder

Lohrasp.

* D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Kaichofrau.

† Ibid.

hands;

hands; and at the head of this faction was Zal-zer, the father of Rustan; but their cabals were ineffectual: Lohrasp carried it against all opposition, and was declared king. As soon as he was seated on the throne, he determined to raise his reputation, and extend his empire, by making war on both sides of his dominions. In consequence of this resolution, he fixt his court at Balch, and took all possible methods for putting every thing in the best order in the eastern provinces of Iran. He sent in the mean time his general, Gudarz, with a puissant army, into Shamah, or Syria, with orders to reduce the whole of that large country under his power. Gudarz effectually answered his master's expectation: he conquered all Syria as far as Damascus, and also Palestine, with the famous city of Jerusalem, called by the Persians, the Habitation of the Saints. The reigning king of the Jews submitted, and promised to pay tribute; for which he put as hostages into the hands of the Persian general several persons of quality, whom Gudarz quickly after caused to be slain. This cruelty provoked the Jews to a rebellion, and gave Gudarz the opportunity he wanted of sacking Jerusalem, where he treated the inhabitants with inexpressible barbarity, and having loaded his soldiers with riches, retired, carrying into Persia with him a vast number of captives. King Lohrasp had two sons, the eldest called Gushtasp, the younger named Zaris. The former was of a turbulent haughty disposition, but at the same time warlike, and of great abilities. This young prince engaged many, who were fond of novelty, to join him in a rebellion against his father. But Lohrasp, having drawn together all his friends, and done every thing in his power to engage the people to his service, marched so suddenly against his son, that Gushtasp's adherents, fearing the fortune of the day in case of a battle, abandoned him by degrees. He therefore provided for his own safety, by retiring into Turquestan, in so distressed a condition, that he lived at that court even unknown and unsuspected. Here, by a very odd accident, he married the daughter of the reigning prince. It was, it seems, a custom in that country, that whenever the king inclined to dispose of a daughter in marriage, public notice was given, and the people assembled in great numbers in an open court, where being disposed into the best order the place would allow, the king entered with his daughter, one of whose hands was held in his, and in the other she had a golden apple, enriched with precious stones. When they were advanced into the middle of the place,

place, the king let loose his daughter's hand; and she, after walking round, and observing every body diligently, bestowed herself and her apple on the man she liked best. It happened, not long after Gushtasp's arrival in Turquestan, that the king determined to give his eldest daughter in marriage; and having brought her out into the court, after the manner before described, she looking a little about her, gave her apple to this unknown person; the grandees of Touran were inexpressibly vexed to see themselves despised by the princess, for a stranger whom they supposed of low birth. They therefore engaged the king to make a law, that for the future the princesses of Touran should have their choice only out of people of high quality, that the royal line might not be drawn into contempt. The king had still two daughters, as remarkable for their beauty as their birth. These were demanded in marriage by the two sons of a neighbouring and potent prince, to whom the king of Touran made no scruple of promising them, on this condition, that they would reduce under his obedience two lords who had revolted, and who committed great devastations throughout all Touran. The young princes, considering the difficulty of this task, had recourse to Gushtasp, of whose prowess they had sufficient proofs, and engaged his assistance. Gushtasp, as soon as he had undertaken to serve them, appointed a hunting-match, and invited the two brothers to be of the party; he also brought to the chace a small body of resolute friends. When they were assembled he discovered to them his project, which was to go immediately to a certain castle, where he was informed the two lords had an interview, and to storm it, before they could have any intelligence of their expedition. This proposal was immediately agreed to, and instantly carried into execution. Gushtasp was the first who entered the place; and having seized the rebels, put them into the hands of the two princes, who conducted them to court and presented them to the king. The Turkish monarch was so much pleased with this achievement, that he very readily made good his promise to the princes, by giving them his daughters in marriage. A few days after he caused great feasts to be celebrated, and appointed public tournaments; wherein Gushtasp behaved himself in such a manner, that he carried the glory of the day from all who were present. The king, who had hitherto shewed him but little countenance, spoke to him on this occasion very kindly, and gave him the highest praises.

Gushtasp

Gushtasp took this opportunity of saying, that, if he had excelled in combats that were not in earnest, he had likewise been of some use in quelling the disturbers of the public peace. The king easily comprehended his meaning; and, having diligently inquired into the truth, made Gushtasp henceforward his favourite. It is to be observed, that, after the conquest of Touran by Kaikobrau, though the people were left to live under their own laws, and their own princes, yet they were obliged to own the superiority of the monarchs of Iran, and to pay them a considerable tribute. Gushtasp persuaded his father-in-law that this was at once dishonourable and needless; and therefore advised him to throw off the yoke, by refusing tribute, and by making preparations for, and declaring war against Lohrasp, in case he should dispute his independency. This scheme Gushtasp proposed with a view to be revenged of his father, and from an apprehension, that, if ever he was discovered, the nobility of Touran, in a time of peace, would certainly deliver him up. Lohrasp was exceedingly surprised at the arrival of the Turkish ambassador in his court. He treated him, however, with great civility, and endeavoured to learn from him the true source of these extraordinary proceedings. The ambassador at first thought to amuse him, with trivial answers; but, on the king's pressing him, he acknowledged at last, that a certain stranger, who had married his master's daughter, was the true author of all this commotion. Lohrasp immediately guessed it was his son, and dispatched a messenger to enquire privately whether it was so or not. As soon as he was certain, that this new and dangerous enemy was his son Gushtasp, he took at the same time a most strange and most generous resolution; which was to spare his people at the expence of his crown. He found he was grown old; he saw the ambition of his son was to be satisfied with nothing less than the diadem; and, as he knew he was brave and wise, though undutiful to him, he determined to resign in his favour. He therefore sent his younger son Zaris, with the *tagi*, or ensign of the royal dignity in Persia, to his brother in Turquestan. Zaris took care to give his brother private notice of his arrival. Gushtasp went immediately to pay him a visit; and being informed of his father's resolution, accepted the *tagi*, or tiara, and caused himself to be solemnly proclaimed king of Persia. His father-in-law was at first prodigiously disturbed, conceiving there was some treason against him in these proceedings;

ings; but when he found things were really as they had been represented, he was overjoyed to the highest degree; and the nobility of Touran came in crowds to pay their compliments to the new king of Persia. After these ceremonies, Gushtasp took leave of his father-in-law, and, with his wife Karathun, set out for his own dominions with a grand retinue, and a considerable number of camels loaded with riches. Lohrasp received his son with all the marks of tenderness and joy. Gushtasp retained him at court for many years, and did nothing without his advice. At last the good old man withdrew to lead a solitary life; to meditate upon the vanities of this world, and to contemplate the wisdom and goodness of God. In a little time after his retreat, he died, having first sent for his son, and given him, in his last moments, the most salutary counsels in respect to his own glory, and the good of his people. This Lohrasp was surnamed Balki, i. e. the Balchian, because he resided mostly at Balk, or Balch, one of the ancientest cities in his dominions* (Y).

Lohrasp withdraws to a solitary life.

Gushtasp

* Mirkhond Hist. sect. xv.

(Y) It must be owned, that the foregoing account, taken from Mirkhond, is by no means agreeable to what other Persian authors have written on the same subject. In two of the most celebrated histories of this people (1), we find it recorded, that Lohrasp was the grandson of Kaikobad, and that he was opposed by the Persian nobility, not for his cruelty or pride, as Mirkhond suggests, but because his father and himself had led their lives in privacy; whence it was believed he had not the capacity of reigning: it is also said, that he was the first Persian monarch who enacted martial laws, and obliged his troops to live like the rest of his subjects, according to the rules of equity and justice, and not as they had hitherto done, at

free-quarter, and in contempt of both. He allowed his general officers and governors of provinces to give audience on a tribunal, raised one story from the ground, and railed round about, reserving only to himself this distinction, that he had a carpet or cloth of state thrown before his foot-stool. We are likewise told, that the name of the general sent by this prince to invade Syria and Palestine, was Raham; and that he was surnamed by the Persians Bakhtalnassar, from whence the Hebrews framed the name of Nebuchadnezzar, and the Greeks, Nebuchadonosor. We have also, on the same authority, the history of Gushtasp's flight, marriage, and succession to the throne of Persia; but we are likewise told, what little agrees with

(1) Lebtarik, Tarik, Montekeb.

Mirkhond's

The History of the Persians.

Gushtasp or Kischtasf, the son of Lohrasf, succeeded his father with general applause; he was a prince of prodigious strength and activity of body, of great wisdom, and extraordinary abilities of mind. Leaving Balch to his father, he went to reside at the ancient metropolis of the kingdom, Istachr, i. e. *cut out of the rock*; which he adorned with many fine structures, and reigned there in peace and glory about thirty years; at the expiration of this term, there appeared in his dominions a very extraordinary person, who took upon himself the character of a prophet, and declared that he was sent by God to teach such as would listen to him the right way; this person was the Zoroastres of the Greeks, and the Zerdusht of the Persians; but as the history of this celebrated sage is of very great consequence, we have found it necessary, to prevent confusion, to detach it from the reign of Gushtasp, and to deliver what hath been collected of this wonderful man, by authors of all nations, in a regular narration.

The Life of Zoroastres, Zoroaster, or Zerdusht; extracted as well from Greek and Latin, as from Oriental Historians.

The Greeks, who were very inquisitive after the inventors of science, amongst the nations whom they style barbarians, have written so confusedly, and so obscurely, concerning Zoroaster, that it is difficult to know how many famous men bore that name, at what periods they lived, and for what they were eminent. Arnobius is thought to have reduced them to four; but such is the misfortune of those who have written about Zoroaster, that the sense of this very passage is disputed, some affirming, that Arnobius speaks of but three Zoroasters; others asserting that he mentions only two. The first is thought to have been a Chaldæan: Suidas calls him an Assyrian; and says also, that he was struck dead by fire from heaven. It is very probable that this is the same Zoroaster spoken of Dion Chrysostom, and said to have appeared in fire. The

Mirkhond's history, that Lohrasf, within a short time after he resigned the throne, was besieged in the city of Balch by Arjasf, nephew of Apherastab, the famous Turkish monarch, who after the town fell into his hands, caused the old

king of Persia to be put to death, after he had reigned one hundred and twenty years. Khondemir, the famous Persian historian, differs not only from Mirkhond, but also from the writers last cited.

second

second was a Bactrian, and a king, whom Justin, and the authors who follow him, make contemporary with Ninus the Assyrian, by whom he was vanquished in battle and slain. He is reputed to have been the inventor of magic; and is said by Arnobius to have contested with Ninus, not only with steel and strength, but by magical force, and the occult sciences of the Chaldæans. The third was a Persian, as Laertius informs us; Clemens Alexandrinus styles him a Mede; Suidas, a Perso-Mede: but they all speak darkly and ambiguously. The fourth was a Pamphylian, commonly called Er, or Erus Armenius. Concerning this Zoroaster, Clemens Alexandrinus quotes Plato, affirming, that he began a book thus: "This wrote I Zoroaster Armenius, by descent a Pamphylian, dying in war, and being in hades, I learned of the gods." He is reported, by the same author, to have risen again, after having been ten days dead, and to have told strange things which he had seen in that space*. The fifth was a native of Proconnesus, mentioned by Pliny*. Some have imagined, not without reason, that he is the same with Aristæus the Proconnesian, mentioned by Suidas to have had an art of letting his soul go out of his body, and return as often as he pleased†. The sixth lived at Babylon, at the time Pythagoras was carried thither by Cambyfes, as we are told by Apuleius. As the Greeks made several Zoroasters, so they placed them in different ages of the world: Justin makes him thirteen years older than Sardanapalus; Eudoxus, cited by Pliny, placed him six thousand years before the death of Plato; Plutarch makes him flourish five thousand years before the war of Troy‡; some authors, mentioned by Suidas, fix him five hundred years before the Trojan war; Apuleius, Iamblicus§, Porphyry, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Agathias place him where he ought to be placed, about the time of Cyrus; and Pliny, discoursing on this very subject, says, that the most accurate writers were of opinion, he lived a little before Xerxes. But, however they might differ in circumstances, they all agreed in paying him great honours: Plato¶, Aristotle, Plutarch, and Porphyry acknowledge him to have been a person of extraordinary learning. Pliny tells us, that he laughed the same day he was born; that his brains beat so hard that they lifted up the hand laid upon them;

* Plato, Polit. lib. x. x Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. cap. 1. & lib. vii. cap. 16. y Sub voce 'Αριστῶς. z De Iside & Osiride. a In Vita Pythag.
b In Alcibiade. c In Libro De Magia, citante Laert. in Proœm. d De Iside & Osiride. e In Vita Pythag.

which was a preface of his future sagacity; he adds, what is very extraordinary, that he lived in the deserts twenty years upon cheese, so mixed that it did not grow stale. Solinus draws his character in few words: "He was, says he, *optimarum artium peritissimus*; in the best arts most skilful." Apuleius styles him, "Omnis divini arcani antistes," the chief doctor in all divine mysteries; and adds, that he was the preceptor of Pythagoras: Agathius tells us, he lived under Hystaspes; and that he was the author of magism among the Persians, changing their old religion and introducing new opinions. Dion Chrysostom says more of him than any of these writers, and from better authority, since what he delivered he had from the Persians themselves, as we shall hereafter have occasion to shew. Ctesias, an author universally condemned, was, in all probability, more in the right about Zoroaster, than those who have censured him, since we know from Arnobius, that he affirmed him to have lived under the reign of Darius Hystaspes, and spent the first book of six, which he wrote on Persian affairs, in delivering his history^f. The sum and conclusion of all we have hitherto said is this, that, except Ctesias and Dion Chrysostom, all the ancients, who have written concerning Zoroaster, knew little about him more than this, that he was a very learned and wise man, and the principal of the magi: Eusebius, indeed, says, that he wrote a book, which, from the citations he has given us, seems to have contained the chief doctrines of the Persian religion^g.

The oriental writers are somewhat better agreed in relation to this wonderful man, whom they call Zerdusht, Zaradusht, Zaratusht, and Zard-husht; for they, generally speaking, acknowledge that he flourished in the reign of Gushtasp. The author of *Lebtarikh*, indeed, says, that some old writers confound him with Dohak, or Zohak, one of the Pischedadian princes; but all the Persian historians, who are to be supposed best acquainted with the affairs of their own nation, speak of him not as the author, but as the reformer of the magian religion, which reformation, they say, he effected by the assistance of Gushtasp. With respect to his family, the common opinion of the Persian and Arabic writers is, that he either was a Jew, or went very early into Judæa, where he received his education under one of the prophets, with whom he lived as a servant; and, emulous of his glory, set up for a

^f *Contra Gentes.*^g *Præpar. Evangel.*

prophet

prophet afterwards in his own person^a. The Mahommedans, who are great enemies to Zerdusht, affirm, that he quitted the service of the Hebrew prophet, because, having deceived and cheated, the holy man prayed God to strike him with a leprosy, which accordingly followed: The Perses in India pretend, that Zerdusht was originally a Chinese; that his father's name was Espintaman, and his mother's Dodo. But they are mistaken; for, as to his genealogy, we are not at all at a loss, since it thus set down in the book of Sad-der: Zaratasht was the son of Purthasp, who was the son of Piterasp, the son of Hitcherasp, the son of Thechshunesh, the son of Espintaman: hence Zerdusht, being frequently called the son of Ispeutamen, the Perses in India mistook him for his immediate parent; whereas, indeed, he was only his remote ancestor. Zerdusht first took upon him the character of a prophet in the province of Aderbayagjan, which was always the residence of the fire-priests. Khondemir says, Zerdusht, from his great skill in astrology, discovered that another prophet was to arise, not inferior to Moses, whose voice all the world was to obey: he from thence affected to believe that he must of necessity be that prophet: upon this conceit, retiring into a cave, and revolving these things in his mind, a light suddenly appeared, being no other than an illusion of the devil, who, conversing with him out of the midst of the fire, Zerdusht no longer doubted that he had received the mission of prophecy, but immediately set about composing a book, containing a system of diabolical doctrines, which he called Zend; having finished this performance, he made it his business to go about the world, teaching this new religion, and erecting fire-temples¹. That Zerdusht really retired to a cave, and there studied and composed his Zendeavasta, is certainly true; and that in this cave he gave himself up to prayer and contemplation, is acknowledged, and may be proved. How long he remained in this cave, or how many books he wrote there, is not very certain: we are told, indeed, that he brought twelve volumes to Gushtasp, each composed of a hundred skins of vellum; but this assertion would be the less wondered at, if we consider that the ancient Persian character took up a great deal of room; and Zoroaster did not only deliver the principles of his religion, but also

^a Abu Mohammed Mustapha in Vita Gushtasp. apud Hyde Rel. ver. Persar. p. 313. Megidi in Zinato l'Magjalis. apud Hyde, p. 315.
¹ D^r Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Zerduscht.

*Zerduſht's
doctrina.*

his own history, and the rudiments of most sciences (Z). The two reigning heresies, before the birth of Zerduſht, were zabiſm and magiſm. The latter was far leſs groſs than the former, and conſequently there required more care to keep its profeſſors from going over to the oppoſite religion; for hiſtory informs us, and the experience of our own times renders its manifeſt, that the bulk of mankind embrace more readily ſuperſtition than truth. Hence it came to paſs, that the Zabians gained ground in Perſia, and multitudes, eſpecially of the common people, had fallen into wrong notions of the Deity, and into groſs errors in their manner of worſhipping him, living alſo in the continual fear of the evil ſpirit, whom they conceived to be the enemy of their ſpecies, and the continual diſturbance of the world. Zerduſht took pains to root out all theſe notions, and to make the people eaſier than they had been, by inſpiring them with reaſonable opinions. He taught them that the Supreme Being was independent, and ſelf-exiſtent from all eternity; that light and darkneſs, good and evil, were continually mixed, and in a continual ſtruggle, not through any impotency in the Creator, but becauſe ſuch was his will, and becauſe this diſcordancy was for his glory; that, in the end, there would be a general reſurrection, and a day of retribution, wherein ſuch as had done well, and lived obedient to the law of God, ſhould go, with the angel of light, into a realm of light, where they ſhould enjoy peace and pleaſure for evermore; and thoſe who had done evil, ſhould ſuffer, with the angel of darkneſs, everlaſting puniſhment in a land of obſcurity, where no ray of light or mercy ſhould ever viſit them; that thenceforward light and darkneſs ſhould be incapable of mixture to all eternity. He took great pains to perſuade his diſciples of all the attributes of the Divinity, eſpecially of his wiſdom and his juſtice; in conſequence of which he aſſured them, that they had none to fear but themſelves, becauſe nothing could render them unworthy of the Divine favour, but their vices. Of all virtues, he eſteemed what the Greeks called philanthropy, and the apoſtles ſtyle brotherly love, the greateſt; for this reaſon he exhorted all his followers to acts of charity and beneficence; ſometimes alluring them by promiſes, at other times intimidating

(Z) Thoſe who are deſirous to know what is delivered by the Perſian hiſtorians, concerning the prophetic character of Zerduſht, may peruſe a curious memoir, called *Shah-namaſher*, preſerved by Dr. Hyde in his *Relig. vet. Perſar.*

them

them by menaces. The credenda of his religion were not numerous, nor perplexed, though, according to the mode of the East, he sometimes made use of parables. Zerdusht carefully instructed those who heard him, that no man ought to despair of the mercy of God, or suppose that it was too late for him to amend. He declared, that though we had a faculty of distinguishing between good and evil, yet that man has no conception of the value which God sets on our actions, nor how far the intention may sanctify even a trivial act; wherefore even the worst of men may hope for the Divine favour from repentance and good works. This truth he exemplified by a parable, which is recorded in the book *Sad-der*, and which runs in these words: "It is reported of Zerdusht, the author of our religion, that one day retiring from the presence of God, he beheld the body of a man plunged in gehenna, his right foot only being free and sticking without. Zerdusht thereupon cried out, "What is this that I see? and wherefore is this man in this condition?" He was answered, "The man whom you see in this condition, was formerly the prince of thirty-three cities, over which he reigned many years, without doing any one good action; for besides, oppression, injustice, pride, and violence, nothing ever entered his mind; and though he was the scourge of multitudes, yet, without regarding their misery, he lived at ease in his palace. One day, however, as he was hunting, he beheld a sheep caught by the foot in a thicket, and thereby held at such a distance from food, that it must have perished. This king, moved at the sight, alighted from his horse, released the sheep from the thicket, and led it to the pasture. Now for this act of tenderness and compassion, his foot remains out of gehenna, though his whole body be plunged therein for the multitude of his sins. Endeavour therefore to do all the good thou canst, without fear or apprehension; for God is benign and merciful, and will reward even the smallest good thou doest." These hints of his doctrines, compared with what has been already delivered in speaking of the religion of the ancient Persians, cannot but be sufficient to shew the general import of Zerdusht's scheme of religion. As to exterior rites, he altered the old method of burning fire on the tops of mountains, and in other places, under the open air, engaging his followers to erect pyrea, or fire-temples, throughout all the dominions

¹ *Sad-der*, part v.

*The magi
of three
ranks.*

of Persia, that this symbol of the Divinity might not, by any accident, be liable to be extinguished. He gave them likewise a liturgy, which they hold to have been brought to him from heaven; and therefore refuse to make any alterations, though the language in which it is written is long ago grown obsolete, and is very little understood by the priests themselves. The priests, or as we style them, the magi, were, according to his institution, of three ranks: the first consisted of the ordinary or parochial clergy, as Dr. Prideaux very significantly terms them. Their duty was to read the holy offices daily in the chapels, and at certain stated and solemn times, to acquaint the people with the contents of Zerdusht's books, and to paraphrase on and explain them. In these parochial chapels there were no fire-altars, but lamps only, before which their devotions were performed. The next degree of their clergy had the superintendency of these ordinary priests, and were to them what bishops are to us. These too had their churches, in which were altars, whereon fire was continually kept, there being a certain number of the inferior clergy appointed to attend them, who, by four at a time, waited constantly near the altar, to supply it with fuel, and to assist such devout persons as went thither for their advice, and their prayers. Above these was the archimagus, i. e. the *high-priest*, or, as the Persians styled him, the mubad-mubadan. Zerdusht himself assumed this office, and resided in the city of Balch, where he governed his magians, and instructed them in every branch of learning. As the austerity of his own life, and his extensive knowledge, supported him in the high reputation he had gained among his contemporaries, he recommended the same behaviour, and the same application to study, to his successors. These injunctions were, for many ages, pursued by them. They were admitted into the king's councils, sat with him in judicature, and had the education of the heirs of the crown; insomuch, that Pliny tells us, in his time, "this religion was received by many nations, and bore sway in the East over the king of kings." It remains now, that we give an account of the book of laws still extant among the Perses, and indubitably written by Zerdusht, whether he was a prophet or impostor; for as to the remaining actions of his life, and his immature death, they belong to the reign of Gushtasp, and shall be accordingly taken notice of therein.

*The archi-
magus, or
high-priest.*

Zerdusht's

Zerduſht's book, containing the institutes of his religion, is ſtyled Zend, or Zendevaſta, uſually pronounced Zund, and Zundavaſta, which is not a Perſian but an exotic word, ſignifying a *tinder-box*; its author, in compliance with the oriental cuſtom of giving all important treatiſes allegorical names, having pitched upon this to expreſs the nature of his book, which was to inſpire its readers with divine zeal. He likewiſe cauſed it to be intitled the Book of Abraham, intimating that it contained the doctrines held by that patriarch. It is written, not in the ordinary Perſian character, but in the old Perſic, called from thence, among the ordinary Perſees, the Zund character. The learned Dr. Thomas Hyde propoſed publiſhing a correct edition of the Zendevaſta, with a Latin tranſlation; but, meeting with no encouragement to undertake ſo laborious and expenſive a work, the world has been deprived of this curioſity^k. It was originally written in twelve hundred ſkins, and conſiſts of twenty-one parts, or different treatiſes, all comprehended under the general title of Zend, or Zendevaſta; which is the reaſon that we have had, in Europe, ſo many different accounts of this book and its contents. For the ſake of the people who profeſs this religion, and who have, notwithstanding, no knowledge at all either of the Zund character, or of the language in which that book is written, a very learned prieſt has taken the pains to make a compendium of it in modern Perſian, which is the book Sad-der, ſo often quoted by us from the Latin verſion publiſhed by Dr. Hyde, and annexed to his Impartial Hiſtory of the religion of the ancient Perſians. This learned critic is of opinion, that Zerduſht did not originally intend to make this book conſiſt of any more than two parts, viz. the Zend and Pazend, reſembling the Miſhna and Gemara, in the Jewiſh Talmud; the firſt containing the liturgy, and principal doctrines of his religion; the ſecond a commentary on them, explaining and ſhewing the rationale of them: but as new adverſaries roſe daily, and other occaſions required new treatiſes, Zerduſht continued to write them, and to add them to his Zendevaſta, which ſtill retained the general title of the volume. Amongſt the pieces comprehended under the general title, there is one called Zeratuſht-Nama, i. e. *the Hiſtory of Zerduſht*, which is no other than his own life written by himſelf. This, that it may be more generally known, has been

*Zerduſht's
book, or
Zende-
vaſta.*

^k Hiſt. vet. Perſar. p. 25.

rendered into the common Persian by the priests who published the book *Sad-der*¹. Dr. Prideaux, speaking of this book, acknowledges, that the rules and exhortations to moral living are written very pressingly, and with sufficient exactness, excepting only in one particular, which is that of incest; for this, he says, is wholly taken away by Zerdusht, who teaches, that nothing of this nature is unlawful; but that a man may not only marry his sister, or his daughter, but his mother. The doctor justly observes, that this is such an abomination, that though all things else were right in that book, this alone were sufficient to pollute it. But, in support of this charge, he does not quote either the book itself, or its compendium, the book *Sad-der*, or any other treatise written by an avowed Persee, but the authorities of Diogenes Laertius, Strabo, Philo Judæus, Tertullian, and Clemens Alexandrinus^m. It is but reasonable, that we should suspend our belief, till we have a decisive account of this matter, especially if we consider, that in other respects those authors are frequently mistaken. It may indeed be urged, that incest was commonly practised by the Persian kings (if we give entire credit to the Greek historians); but, admitting this to be so, it is no direct proof that Zerdusht allowed it, any more than the contrary practice of the Persees at this day is a demonstration, that he did not allow it. As to the rest of the contents of this book, we shall not insist farther on them here, because it would lead us into too long a digression from the thread of our history.

We will conclude our account of this extraordinary person with observing, that he is said to have predicted the coming of the Messiah; and this not in dark and obscure terms, such as might have been applied to any other person, but in plain and express words, and such as could not be mistaken. On the whole, we may be permitted to say, that on a view of what different authors have delivered concerning Zerdusht, and his writings, he stands fairly entitled to the character we have given him of an extraordinary person; especially when we reflect, that his ministry was of no long continuance; according to the most authentic accounts, not above five years; that is, from the time of his presenting himself to Gushtasp, to his being slain at the sack of Balch. But it is now time for us to

¹ Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. cap. 25, 26.

^m Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, part. i. book iv. p. 223. & seqq.

return to the history of Gushtasp, and of the remarkable events which happened during his reign.

The old animosities between the inhabitants of Touran and Iran broke out into a fresh war, while Gushtasp sat on the throne of his ancestors. It is not easy to say, whether this monarch or Argjasp, who then reigned in Touran, was the aggressor. Mirkhond inclines to the former opinion, and makes this a religious war, undertaken to reduce Argjasp and his subjects to the faith of Zerdusht. Be that as it will, Gushtasp having assembled the whole forces of his empire, marched into Touran; and meeting Argjasp in battle, vanquished him, slew his son in the field, and, before the Turkish monarch could assemble a new army, possessed himself of his capital, and gave the plunder of it to his soldiers. After which achievement, returning triumphantly into Persia, he on some jealousies or suspicion, imprisoned his son Isphendiyar in a strong castle, seated on the top of a high mountain, called Ghird-Kouch, i. e. the *Round Mount*; but he had soon reason to repent of the ill usage with which he had treated that prince; for Argjasp, irritated by the treatment he had met with, raised all the forces of Touran, and making a sudden inroad into the province of Chorassan, sacked the city of Balch, where he killed Lohrasp, the father of Gushtasp, in his cloister, and slaughtered Zerdusht, with all his priests attending there on the chief fire-temple, which he likewise destroyed, committing all the outrages that a mind, stung with the remembrance of what the Persian king had done in his own country could suggest^a. Elated with this conquest, he advanced so expeditiously into the dominions of Iran, that Gushtasp did not think fit to meet him in battle; but chose rather to consider, how an army might be assembled able to attack that of Argjasp on his return. His counsellors advised him to set his son Isphendiyar at liberty, and to entrust him with the management of the war. Necessity compelled him to take their advice; and he accordingly sent his brother Gjamasp to Isphendiyar, not only to release him, but also to assure him, that his father would resign to him the throne in case he should prove victorious. As soon as Isphendiyar arrived at the army, the Persians took courage, and numbers resorted to his standard, though they had declined following his father. The young prince failed not to make use of these advantages;

New war between the inhabitants of Touran and Iran.

Zerdusht killed.

^a Mirkhond Hist. sect. xvi. Lebtarik.

and,

*Argjasp
defeated by
Isphendi-
yar.*

*Isphendi-
yar's stra-
tagem to
surprise
Argjasp.*

and, falling suddenly on Argjasp, defeated entirely all his numerous army, obliging him to retire out of Persia, with great precipitation. After this glorious victory, Gushtasp received his son with all imaginable marks of kindness and esteem. However he declined putting him in possession of the crown; and, in order to amuse him, observed, that it would be unbecoming so brave a prince to put his father's crown upon his head, while his sisters, who were taken prisoners at the sack of Balch, remained still in captivity. Isphendiyar, piqued at this evasion of his father, which shewed, that he did not think, that the prince had thoroughly humbled his enemies, immediately determined to undertake a new expedition, that his father might have no excuse left for the non-performance of his promise. With this view he selected out of his army twelve thousand foot, and as many horse, with whom he advanced towards the frontiers of Touran, accompanied by his brother Bashuten, who was elder than himself. Having received intelligence, that Argjasp was retired to one of the strongest places of his dominions, to which there were three different roads; the one plain and easy, fit for the caravans, but so round about, that it required no less than six months time to reach the place; the second pretty difficult, but so direct, that, by it, a man might reach the court of Touran in a month; and the third, which was hardly passable, through woods and morasses, and over high mountains covered with snow; Isphendiyar having directed his brother to advance expeditiously through the second of these roads, he, with some resolute friends, threw himself into the third. They were all habited like merchants, and carried with them jewels, and other curiosities of great value. The instructions he gave his brother were these; that when he drew near the residence of Argjasp, he should post his army with all the silence imaginable in the neighbourhood of certain meadows, which lay near the city; and that, as soon as he should perceive a great number of fires lighted in that meadow, he should advance with his horse to execute the orders which he should receive. Isphendiyar, and his retinue, making the best of their way, reached in seven days the court of Touran. The prince being introduced to Argjasp as a merchant, who fled from the severity of Isphendiyar, and was desirous of selling his goods in the dominions of Touran, the king received him, and his companions, with all imaginable courtesy, and accepted very kindly the magnificent present which

which the prince thought fit to offer. This lucky beginning was followed by a train of success answerable to Isphendiyar's wishes; for, in a short time, he wrought himself into the highest degree of confidence with the king and his principal courtiers. When, therefore, he was apprised, that his brother with his forces was arrived at the place appointed, he invited the king and court to a grand collation in the meadows adjoining to the town. Thither they came in the evening; and, great fires being lighted for dressing the provisions, these served as signals to Bafshuten, who, at the head of his horse, suddenly charged the Turks, and made himself master of the city. Isphendiyar, and those who were about him, dispatched, without delay, the most considerable of the nobility, the prince killing with his own hand Argjasp king of Touran. Then putting his sisters, whom he had released out of captivity, into the hands of his and their brother Bafshuten, he advised him to retire, with part of his forces, into Persia, while he with the rest, marched against several Indian princes, in order to force them and their subjects to abandon idolatry, and receive the religion of Zerdusht; in which expedition, Isphendiyar had prodigious success, and returned afterwards to Persia, crowned with laurels. When he arrived at Istachr, he expected that his father would, without delay, perform the promise he had so solemnly made, and so often repeated, of resigning to him his dominions; but the politic Gushtasp intended nothing less. He received his son as before with all the tokens of amity and tenderness; but, instead of putting the crown upon his head, he entertained him with a studied discourse on his great abilities, and the laudable obedience he had hitherto paid to all his commands. After this, the crafty old prince complained that there was still one enemy left to be subdued, even in the heart of his dominions, namely, Rustan; who having fortified himself in the provinces committed to his charge, absolutely refused to obey the king's commands, or to receive the religion of Zerdusht. Gushtasp insinuated that it was necessary for Isphendiyar to reduce this nobleman, before he assumed the diadem, since otherwise he would receive from his father but half a kingdom. The generous Isphendiyar immediately set out for Sigjistan, carrying with him his son Bahaman. On their arrival there, Rustan met him, and conferred with him at first with great civility and respect; but when the prince insisted on his yielding obedience to his father's commands, and professing

Isphendiyar killed by Rustan.

professing immediately the faith of Zerdusht, Rustan grew angry, and from recrimination they quickly came to blows. As they were both men of great strength and agility of body, as well as of high spirit, and unconquerable valour, the combat was long and doubtful. At last it inclined to Isphendiyar; but Rustan, collecting all his strength into one blow, gave the prince so deep a wound, that he died upon the spot, having only time to recommend his son to Rustan, and to desire his brother Bafhutēn to take care of his body. Both his requests were exactly complied with; Bafhutēn carried back his body into Persia, where it received the highest funeral honours; and Rustan carefully sent home his son. Gushtasp was inconsolable for the death of so deserving a prince; his grief, however, was forced to give way to the necessity of the state; for the new king of Touran no sooner heard what had happened in Persia, than raising a great army, he invaded that kingdom, and wasted it with fire and sword. Gushtasp having collected as great an army, as the time would permit, marched with all possible diligence to oppose him; and, after having encountered, and entirely routed his forces, constrained him to retire into his own dominions. The public peace being now restored, Gushtasp, in order to shew the respect he had for his son's memory, resigned the crown to Bahaman, the son of Isphendiyar; and, according to the example set him by his own father, retired from the world to a magnificent pleasure-house he had erected not far from Schiras, a palace of such superb architecture, that in after-times, as Mirkhond tells us, it was attributed to Solomon, the son of David, to express its excellence°. In all probability it stood in the neighbourhood of that mountain, which, lying behind the famous palace of Persepolis, is held to be the sepulchre of the ancient Persian kings. We have seen, from various instances, that it was a common thing among the Persian monarchs to quit their thrones, when they found their health and spirits decay, and to spend the last years of their life in contemplation. If we admit, that Gushtasp was the Hytaspes of the Greeks, then we may apply what Ammianus Marcellinus says of the latter to this retreat: "Hytaspes, says this historian, was a most wise person who boldly penetrating into the inner parts of Upper India, came to a woody desert, whose calm silence was possessed by those high geniuses

Gushtasp resigns the crown to Bahaman.

• Mirkhond Hist. sect. xvi.

the Brahmans. From these he learned the true system of the heavenly bodies, and their motions, and the true rites of pure religion, with which knowledge he returned into Persia, and taught it to the magi, amongst whom it has, by tradition, been preserved even to this time^p. But, perhaps, admitting Gushtasp and Hystaspes to be one and the same person, we ought to refer this expedition to his junior years, when he fled from his father into Touran, from whence his journey into India was not difficult. There are some Persian writers, however, who give a very different account of this matter. These say, that not Gushtasp, but his son Bashuten addicted himself to divine meditations; and that this Bashuten in conformity to the prophet's promise, was transported to the mountain Dunbavand or Damavand, with thirty of his guards, where they yet live in the most quiet and happy manner; the approach of all living creatures to their sacred retreat being prevented by thick steams of sal ammoniac issuing from all sides of the mountain^q. Our famous traveller Sir Thomas Herbert ascended this mountain, and passed directly over it without meeting with any such steams. He acknowledges, however, that there are vast quantities of sulphur thereon; and that, in the night, some luminous vapours are seen thereabouts, which he thinks proceed from sulphur^r. But the learned Dr. Hyde is for the old opinion, and for attributing them to sal ammoniac; but confesses not only that the history of Bashuten is fabulous, but that some stories of the same sort, related of Gushtasp, are likewise unworthy of belief. We may, with tolerable certainty, affirm, that the reign of Gushtasp was the reign of learning in Persia. In his time flourished a celebrated astrologer, whose name was Gjamaasp, surnamed, according to the oriental custom, al Hakim, i. e. *the wise*, or *the sage*. That such a person there was, and that he flourished about this time, is pretty clear; but who he was, is very far from being certain. Some have made him the son of Daniel the prophet^s; others say he was the counsellor of king Gushtasp; but the greater number, and those too of the most credible writers, affirm, that he was the brother of that prince, and not only so, but his confident and chief minister^t. The science for which he was particularly famous, was

*Gjamaasp a
celebrated
astrologer.*

^p Ammian. Marcell. Hist. lib. xxiii. ^q Hyde Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. cap. 23. p. 306. ^r Herbert's Travels, p. 112.
^s Chalil. Suphi apud Hyde Relig. vet. Persar. p. 385. ^t Mirkhond, ubi supra. Leb Tarikh,

astrology,

astrology, and from his skill therein, he is said to have predicted the coming of the Messiah.

Bahaman.

*Why sur-
named Di-
razdest.*

*His cha-
racter.*

Bahaman the son of Isphendiyar, succeeded his grandfather Gushtasp, in all the mighty empire he had acquired. Before we enter upon the reign of this prince, it is necessary that we should settle his name. Mirkhond calls him Bahaman; and says, that he had two surnames, one Dirazdest, i. e. *Long-hand*, because his right hand was longer than his left: and the other, Ardshir, which he acquired on this account; when his mother was big with this son, there came a great astrologer to the court of Gushtasp his grandfather; and addressing himself to Isphendiyar, presented him with a small basket, which, he told him, was for the use of the son that should be born to him; upon opening it, there was found a vessel full of milk, and a little flour; the person who brought it, alleging, by way of excuse, that his circumstances did not allow him to bring any thing better. Isphendiyar and his wife were so much satisfied with the present, that they took from thence the name of their son, ard, signifying *flour*, and shir, *milk*, in their ancient language: hence it came to pass, that this prince was better known by his surname than by his proper name, being generally called in the oriental histories, Ardshir Dirazdest; and by the Greek historians, Artaxerxes Longimanus. He is represented by Mirkhond as one of the wisest and best princes that ever swayed a sceptre: he was so solicitous for the impartial distribution of justice to all his subjects, that he sent some favourites of his own privately into the courts of all his governors, that they might bring him exact information of their behaviour: and when the time of their governments was expired, he sent for them into his presence, and either rewarded and commended their virtues, or else punished what they had done amiss, according to the nature of the offence. In a year after his accession to the throne, he summoned the states of his kingdom, which he addressed in terms full of tenderness and love: he told them, that he had assumed the regal dignity, not to gratify his own ambition, but to do good to them; he therefore intreated them, if they knew any wrong steps he had taken, or any vices that he had, which were detrimental to the public, that they would freely censure and reprove them; nay, if they held him utterly unworthy of the empire, he exhorted them to depose him; for he said, that kings ought to be public blessings, and that such as were not so, ought not to have the title. The states, after
having

having highly commended the king's zeal, and received from him whatever they desired, separated, and going into their respective provinces, carried with them the highest sentiments of duty and respect for so deserving a prince. Ardshir, or Bahaman, took care to repair all the cities, fire-temples, and public edifices, which during the wars in Iran, had either been beaten down, or, through the injuries of time, had fallen to decay. These works being finished, and his empire every where in a flourishing condition, he thought it a proper time to revenge the death of his father, and to reunite the provinces of Sigjistan and Cabul to his dominions. To this end he raised a considerable army, and marched into the territories of Rustan: whither he was no sooner come, than he was informed, that this great warrior was dead; but, that his son Feramorz had taken possession of his government, and was marching to oppose him with a great army. The king of Persia being desirous that the war should have a speedy determination, did not decline a battle, in which he had all the success he could desire, the enemy being entirely defeated, and Feramorz killed upon the spot. He took likewise Zal-zer, the father of Rustan, prisoner, and returned triumphantly into Persia, after having obliged the inhabitants of those provinces to acknowledge him for their lawful lord. Mirkhond gives a very extraordinary account of the death of Rustan, which happened a little before this war commenced: this nobleman had, according to this historian, a brother, whose name was Chajal, whom he sent to collect his revenues in Kabul, where it happened that Chajal fell desperately in love with the governor's daughter, who was a woman of most accomplished beauty, and of the rarest qualifications. The governor, observing how much the young man was smitten, made him promise to do for him whatever he desired, provided he might have his daughter. Chajal having given this promise, the governor proposed to him the delivering his brother into his hands, that he might secure to himself the absolute possession of his own territories, by putting him to death: to which proposal Chajal, for the sake of his mistress, assented. On his return home, discoursing with his brother, he informed him, that the governor of Kabul, whom he trusted so much, was indeed a very tyrant, and grievously oppressed the people under his jurisdiction. Rustan, highly incensed at this information, threatened to put that governor to death, and to extirpate his family; to which end he assembled all his forces; but his

Defeats and kills Feramorz the son of Rustan.

Account of the death of Rustan.

his brother, laying hold of the predominant quality of vanity, which was always prevalent in Rustan's temper, persuaded him, that his presence alone was sufficient to frighten the governor of Kabul into submission: whereupon he set out, attended only by a friend, and his treacherous brother. As soon as they arrived in the neighbourhood of Kabul, the governor, with a very few of his attendants, came, and made his submission; and, having most humbly besought Rustan's pardon, which Rustan readily gave him, the governor intreated him to rest that night in his house, which was at a small distance. When they came near its gates, Chajal rode on his brother's right, and the governor on his left; when, on a sudden, the ground gave way, and Rustan and his horse fell into a deep pit which had been prepared for him, and so artfully covered with earth and leaves, that he did not perceive it. Rustan being apprised of their treachery, intreated one of the governor's attendants to give him a bow and arrows, that he might not be devoured alive by wild beasts. The man, touched with his misfortunes, put them immediately into his hands; whereupon, Rustan, drawing the bow with all his strength, let fly two arrows with such dexterity, that he struck the treacherous governor, and his perfidious brother, each to his heart; he himself dying a little after of the wounds he received in his fall. Such, if we give an implicit belief to the Persian historians, was the end of this mighty warrior, the glory and support of his country, and its kings (A). After the reduction of the provinces formerly held by the hero we have just now mentioned, Bahaman, or Ardschir, extended his empire on all sides. Some historians say, that Kireth, i. e. Cyrus, was his governor in Babylon; but this is a palpable mistake, grounded on a real fact, viz. the great kindness which this prince expressed for the Jews: some have reported that his mother was of that nation; however it was, we may be assured, that he had a very great

(A) Apherasiab king of Touran must have lived several hundred years, if this history be true; or else, for a long series of years, the princes of that country were styled Apherasiab, as the kings of Egypt were called Pharaoh, and the kings of the Philistines were entitled Abimelech. But

then the same difficulty recurs as to Rustan. His father Zalzer lived to be carried away prisoner by Bahaman, of whose reign we are now speaking: he must then have been near seven hundred years old, and Rustan, who was lately dead, must have been greatly upwards of six hundred.

regard

regard for the chosen people, and did them great kindnesses. This prince had a son, whose name was Sassan, a man much addicted to learning, and especially to astrology; whence it came to pass, that either through his own modesty, he pretended not to the empire, or was precluded therefrom by his father, on account of his studious life, which that active prince thought incompatible with the duties of a sovereign: however it was, historians are agreed that he did not succeed, nor did pretend to the succession on the demise of his father; but contentedly led a private life, though his descendants afterwards recovered the kingdom, as will be shewn in the next period of our Persian history, from oriental historians. After a long and glorious reign, wherein he so far extended his dominions, that some will have his surname of Dirazdest derived from thence, Bahaman or Ardhir died, and left his empire to his wife Homai; whom some writers also affirm to have been his daughter, and who at the time of his decease was big with child. The favourite saying of this prince was, "That the gate of a king ought never to be shut."

Bahaman dies and leaves the empire to his wife Homai.

Homai, or Khamani, about five months after her accession to the throne, brought forth a son of wonderful beauty. According to the custom of those times, the astrologers were consulted as to the fortune of this young prince. They, it seems, were unanimously of opinion, that his fate would by no means correspond with his face; but, on the contrary, that he would bring great misfortunes on his country as well as himself; for which reason they advised, that he should be immediately destroyed. The tenderness of a mother would not permit Homai to follow their counsels; and yet her love for her country extended so far, that she determined, at any rate, to prevent his bringing on it those mischiefs the astrologers had threatened. With this view she caused a little wooden ark or chest to be made, and, having put the child into it, covered him with precious stones, and then suffered the vessel to sail down the Gihon or Oxus. The floating cradle came at last within the view of a poor man, who was by trade a dyer. He, struck with the novelty of the sight, took pains to draw the chest on shore; and was much surprised on finding therein a child with things of such value, not doubting but it was the descendant of some great family. He carried it, with the precious stones, to his wife; who concurring with him in opinion, that it was the son of some person of distinction, bred it up with

Predictions of the astrologers concerning her son.

Is exposed by his mother, but found and brought up by a dyer.

Serves, and distinguishes himself in the army.

The queen owns him and declares him her successor.

Homai said to have built the palace of Persepolis.

as much tenderness and care, as if it had been her own, the dyer giving him the name of Darab, from the vessel in which, and the element wherein he was found, dar, signifying *a wooden vessel*, and ab, *water*. When this child was grown up to proper age to be taught some trade, the dyer would willingly have taught him his own; but the child shewed a visible reluctance thereto, and appeared to have a strong genius for war. The good old man, far from checking his inclinations, strained his abilities to the utmost, to furnish young Darab with an equipage necessary to his serving in the army, which was then raised for the reduction of Roumestan. This war was of no very long continuance; but Darab performed such extraordinary feats of arms, that his praises were echoed by the whole army; for, though the flower of the Persian army had served, yet none had attained to so high a reputation as this unknown youth. At their return, therefore, from the war, the commander in chief made such a favourable report of him to the queen his mistress, that she was curious to see his person. Darab was therefore introduced into the royal presence, where, after some discourse about the war, and the great exploits he had performed, the queen demanded of him what was his name, and who were his father and mother. He answered, as to the first, that his name was Darab, but that as to his parents he was not able to say any thing; that persons he lived with, and whom he acknowledged for his father and mother, were a dyer and his wife; that the man had taken him out of the water, where he floated in a little chest, and that, from thence, they had given him the name of Darab. The queen having considered, and enquired into his story, owned him for her son, and declared him her successor, with the general approbation of the people^t. This princess, all the oriental writers, who speak of her, agree, had a prodigious capacity, and was wonderfully careful in ordering all things for the good of her people. Above all things, she studied the adorning the glorious capital of her dominions, Istachr: to this end she erected a noble palace therein, the ruins of which are glorious even to this day, and are the same which the Persians call Chilminar, the palace of Persepolis. We will not take upon us to affirm that these authors are in the right; but we may safely say, that, in all human probability, this palace was built about this time; and the rea-

^t Mirkhond Hist. scct. 18. D'Herbelot Artç. Homai.

son which the eastern writers assign for queen Homai's choosing to erect it here, is neither absurd nor incredible; they allege, that Gushtasp having erected several pyrea, or fire-temples, and cut for himself, and for his successors, superb tombs in the rock which lies behind this palace, Homai was tempted to build a royal house in their neighbourhood, that all these marks of Persian magnificence might appear together, and set off each other: to her also are attributed several other monuments of royal munificence, and a deep desire of fame, such as a multitude of pyramids, smaller, but not unlike those in Egypt, scattered throughout all Persia, and every where demolished by the soldiers of Alexander the Great. This princess is likewise said to have built a city called Semrim, or Semirah: whence a famous Persian author hath been led to think, that the Homai of the Persians, was the Semiramis of the Greeks; but in this idea, perhaps there is more criticism than solidity^a. The author of another Persian Chronicle is so far from thinking her either the Semiramis of the Greeks, or so famous a queen of Persia as other authors make her, that he has totally omitted her name in his history of the Persian monarchs of the dynasty of the Kainites^v. Mirkhond, however, assures us, that she reigned thirty-two years, and then resigned the crown to her son Darab^z.

Her other works.

All historians agree, that Darab ascended the throne as the son of Bahaman, or Ardschir; and that he gave the highest proofs of his royal descent, by his wife and gentle administration. His valour had been sufficiently distinguished before he ascended the throne: he suffered it not to rust after he assumed the royal dignity; for at the same time he loved justice, and took care to have it exactly administered throughout all his wide dominions, he was likewise a munificent patron of arts and sciences, easy of address, eloquent in speech, and one of the most humane princes that ever swayed a sceptre. On some account or other he found it necessary to turn his arms on Filikous, that is Philip king of Macedon, at first by his captains, and at last in person, with such success, that Philip, being driven to extremities, was obliged to accept such terms as Darab thought fit to impose: and they were these; that the king of Macedon should pay yearly the sum of forty thousand pieces of gold, by way

Darab.

Wages a successful war against Philip of Macedon.

^a Tarik. Montekebh. hond, ubi supra.

^v Tarikcozidih.

^z Mirk-

*Marries
his daugh-
ter, but
sends her
back.*

*Settles posts
throughout
Persia.*

*His other
works.*

of tribute; and should give his daughter, one of the handfomest princesses in Greece, to Darab for a wife: an article which was literally performed. The very first night that Darab passed with his new spouse, he found her breath so offensive, that he resolved to send her back to her father, though some writers say, she was with child. After the Macedonian war, Darab applied himself wholly to the arts of peace, and to the settling such things as were still in disorder, and inventing new methods for giving ease and satisfaction to his subjects. Among other wise and glorious acts of this good king, the appointing posts throughout all Persia is particularly recorded. This scheme he executed with such skill, that he had news brought him from every corner of his empire, by couriers setting out regularly twice a day. He was the founder of a pleasant and beautiful city in Proper Persia, on which he bestowed his name, calling it Darab-gerd, i. e. *Mount Darab*; in the middle of which rose a hill in the shape of a tent, or pavilion; and without its walls was a circle of hills, producing salt of various colours, transported from thence into all the provinces of Persia. He likewise erected another city, called Khourch: and after a reign of four years, according to Mirkhond^a; of fourteen, says another writer^a; at the end of twelve, says a third^b; he died universally lamented, and left the crown to his son.

Darab II.

*His bad
qualities.*

*His subjects
revolt, and
join Ascan-
der.*

Darab the Second, or the Younger, surnamed Darab Kuchek, came very young to the crown, and what was much worse, came to it without any of the qualities of a prince. He was haughty, brutal, perfidious, and cruel; vices which rendered him in a short time hateful to his people, and obnoxious to his neighbours. The Persians, unused to such tyranny, entered into private negotiations with Ascander, the son of Filikous, that is Alexander the Great; the son of Philip, whom many of the Persian writers believe to have been the son of Darab the first, by the daughter of Filikous, whom he sent back because of her offensive breath; and persuaded him to enter Persia with an army, promising to join him as soon as he arrived with a force sufficient to protect them, and to put him in possession of an empire, of which they held Darab to be unworthy. As a pretence for making war, they advised Ascander to refuse payment of the tribute which his father had agreed to send annually into Persia; and with these suggestions the king of Macedon readily concurred. Da-

^a Hist. sect. xix.

^a Tarikh Montekebbh.

^b Lebtarikh.

rab, finding that Ascander did not send his tribute as usual, sent an ambassador to demand it; to whom the Macedonian answered, that those who paid tribute in his country were dead. But others say, that the pieces of gold, in which the tribute was payable, being called by a name, which signified at once a *piece of corn* and an *egg*, Ascander answered Darab's ambassador in derision, when he demanded a considerable sum of gold for the tribute in arrear, that the bird which laid those eggs was flown into another world, alluding to his father's death, who had burdened his subjects with this tribute. This answer greatly provoked Darab, who, to shew at once his resentment and contempt of so weak an enemy, sent a second messenger, with a present more expressive of his master's sentiments than any speech or letter could have been. This present was a little casket, containing a dibble, or planting stick, a bag full of small stones, and another full of small coin; the first to intimate that he was young and inconsiderate, and that he had better employ himself in his gardens, than in matters of state; the second, shewing the power and strength of the Persian nation; and the third their riches, the whole implying, that it was a rash imprudent thing for such a petty prince as him to oppose so great and powerful a monarch. However this ambassador, with his present, found Ascander on the point of taking the field; and had therefore no opportunity of carrying back to his master any answer. The troops of the king of Macedon were not very numerous; but they were all chosen men, such as were valiant in their persons, and at the same time inured to hardships. On his entering Asia he met with little opposition, partly through the hatred which the people had conceived against Darab, and partly through the generosity of Ascander's behaviour, who treated them not as enemies, but as subjects. When he arrived in Armenia, he received a letter from Darab, wherein that monarch pretended great concern for his welfare, advised him not to hazard a battle, but rather to consent to a peace while it was yet in his power; adding some menaces at the close. Ascander returned him for answer, that empires were bestowed by God alone, who changed them as he thought proper. He continued his march until he entered the province of Aderbayagjan, where he defeated one of Darab's captains, who endeavoured to oppose his passage, and having gained this victory, he advanced into Ghilan. This province, according to Mirkhond, was, in ancient times, a flourishing

*Ascander
refuses to
pay the
usual tri-
bute.*

*Ascander
enters Asia.*

*Reduces
the pro-
vince of
Ghilan.*

*Defeats
Darab in a
pitched
Battle.*

*Gains an-
other com-
plete vic-
tory.
Darab
murdered
by his sub-
jects.*

flourishing kingdom, called by its inhabitants Endsafet, i. e. *the White Indies*, in allusion to the beauty of the country, which is far preferable to that of the Indies properly so called; its situation, also being remarkably happy, on account of the Caspian Sea on one side, and their easy correspondence with Tartary, Persia, and Armenia, all lying round them. This country Ascander quickly subdued, From thence he marched into the heart of Persia; where, in the province, properly called by that name, Darab met him with a prodigious army. After an obstinate and bloody battle, Ascander obtained the victory; and Darab was forced to fly, leaving his camp, his wives, and his daughters in the power of the victor. In their flight the Persians met with a river, wherein many, entering carelessly, were drowned. At last a ford was discovered, through which Darab, attended by the principal persons in his army, passed; but the soldiers who followed him, crowding upon each other, the weakest were thrown down, and perished miserably in the water. As soon as the king had reached a place of safety, he sent, once more, ambassadors to Ascander to treat of peace, offering, in case he would send back his wives and daughters, and retire with his troops back to Greece, to renounce all right of tribute, and make some other concessions. At the same time that he proposed this treaty, he dispatched ambassadors also to the kings of India and Macherek, intreating them to yield him assistance, that he might be able to drive the Greek out of his dominions; these they furnished with such readiness, that, in a short time, he had an army more numerous and potent than that which he had lost. As for Ascander he treated the offers of Darab with derision, making all the haste he could to engage the Persian forces a second time, although he was well informed of the great reinforcements they had received. It was not long before he brought them to a battle, in which the Greek gained another complete victory, Darab flying, with a few of his captains, to a strong fortress, where, before he could well recollect himself, some of his own subjects most treacherously put him to death, by giving him several mortal wounds with their poinards, and then fled to the camp of Ascander, leaving their unhappy prince weltering in his blood. Ascander no sooner received the news, than he went, with the utmost expedition, to Darab's fortress, and found him in his last agonies, which sight so affected the Greek, that, melting into tears, and holding up his hands to heaven, he protested

tested he had neither knowlege of, nor pleasure in, so execrable a deed. The dying king expressed great satisfaction at this declaration, assured him he thoroughly believed all he said, besought him to chastise the traitors by whose hands he died, and entreated him to espouse his daughter Rouschengh, and not to put the several provinces of the empire under the direction of strangers; with all which requests Ascander promised to comply. Then Darab, after making many affecting reflections on the misery of human life, and inconstancy of fortune, yielded up the ghost, after a reign of fourteen years. Thus far we have followed, for the most part, the author last mentioned. The reader might well expect that we should here put an end to this section, especially since he has already seen the history of Persia, according to the Greek writers, concluded at the death of Darius. But so it is, that in order to pursue the theme laid down in the title of this section, we are bound to carry on the history to the death of Alexander; for, as we have shewn before, the oriental writers, in order, no doubt, to save the credit of the Asiatics, have pretended that the empire of Iran, with its dependancies, which were then very great, came into the hands of Alexander, not so much by conquest as by right. In this light, therefore, Alexander was the last monarch of the dynasty of the Kainites, and consequently his reign ought to be as much taken notice of here, as the reigns of any of his predecessors.

*Alexander's
generous
behaviour.*

Alexander, son of Philip, king of Macedon, is, by the Persian writers, styled Iscander ben. Filikous, which signifies the same thing; only they pretend, that it was a kind of surname bestowed for the following reason: they will have it that he was the son of Darab the first, by the daughter of Filikous, whom he sent home because of her nauseous breath; but that Philip, bringing him up as his own son, and leaving to him the kingdom, he called himself, out of gratitude, Alexander the son of Philip, though he put in his claim to the kingdom of Persia as heir of Darab his father. The oriental writers, in general, bestow another surname upon him, viz. that of Dhoulcarnein, or rather Dulcarnein, which signifies literally, *with two horns*, in allusion to the two ends of the world, the east and the west. Of the first nothing can be said with certainty, or even with probability. To the second the eastern writers, and especially the Persian historians, pay great honours, and mention many things concerning him, which are not to be met with in the Greek and Latin his-

Alexander.

torians.

torians. The Persians are not only much charmed with the character of Alexander; they are also wonderfully pleased with that of his visier, as they call him, or, as he was in truth, his preceptor, Aristotle. This wise man they call sometimes by the name of Arisathialis, but commonly, by way of abbreviation, Aristou. They report that he was wonderfully sagacious, even in his childhood; that he addicted himself very early to the school of Plato, and continued therein upwards of twenty years, till he set up for himself, and became author of the sect of Maschaïoun, i. e. the *Peripatetics*. They affirm, likewise, that he died very old, and in high reputation throughout all Greece. They are very positive that he was prime minister to Alexander the son of Philip; and, in consequence of this notion, they report a multitude of fine sayings and moral maxims, under his name. Ben Cassan informs us, that Aristotle composed above a hundred different treatises on various subjects; and amongst the rest, mentions one which is neither found among his works, as we have them at present, nor is at all taken notice of by any of the Greek writers. Its title runs thus: "A discourse on the conduct which a great general ought to observe after the gaining or losing of a battle;" which Ben Cassan says he dedicated to Alexander the Great. As to his philosophy, we cannot find that it was thoroughly studied by the ancient Persians, though, in after-times, it came to be in high credit with the Arabians^c. But, to return to Alexander: Mirkbond, who has written very copiously of his conquests, affirms, that he reduced many nations to the east of Persia under his dominion, and that he advanced as far as the Indies; that he was the founder of many glorious cities, particularly of Heri or Herat, and Samarkand. He reports, likewise, that this prince, being mightily taken with the Persian learning, caused three celebrated treatises, written in that language, to be translated into Greek; the first relating to Physic, the second to Astrology, and the third to Natural Philosophy. He divided, says the same historian, his ample dominions into ninety governments; and, after a short and glorious life, ended his days at Babylon in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign^d, leaving his conquests to be divided among his captains, who are distinguished by the Arabians and Persians with the title of *Moujouk al Shaovaif*, i. e. *the kings of nations or families*. The

^c D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Arisathialis.
 Mirkbond Hist. sect. xxi.

^d Mirk-

Persians, likewise, take notice of Alexander's brother Aridæus, whom they style Ardous, and, generally speaking, make him the son, instead of the brother, of that monarch. They agree, however, with the Greeks, in representing him as a prince little qualified for empire; but they soften this account, by pretending, that he disguised grandeur for the sake of wisdom, having learned from Aristotle to think those goods only valuable, which neither fortune nor force can take away (B). We have now conducted the history of the Persian empire from its origin to its dissolution after the death of Alexander the Great. We shall, in the History of Parthia, see it revive under a prince descended from their ancient kings, and of the magian religion.



C H A P. XIV.

The History of the Scythians and Gomerians; under the several Names of Celto-Scythes, Sarmatians, Massagetes, &c. Scythians; and Cymmerians, Celtes, Galatians, Gauls, Titans, Sacks, &c. Gomerians.

S E C T. I.

An Enquiry into the Origin, Antiquity, Migrations, and Settlements of the Scythians and Gomerians, considered as two distinct Nations.

TH E S E two nations make so considerable a figure in ancient history, in so many different parts of the world, and under such variety of names, that it would be *Celtes and Scythians descended from Japheth*

(B) The reader must have, by this time, perceived that the oriental history of the kings of Persia, is no other than a romance filled with anachronisms and absurdities. Besides the unconscionable lengths of the different reigns, and of the age of Rustan and his father, the author has not even mentioned Cyrus the Great,

nor the other famous prince of that name, nor said a syllable of Xerxes and his expedition into Greece, nor touched upon the other events and revolutions in the court of Persia, which have been recorded by the Greeks, upon the concurring testimony of many unquestionable authors who were eyewitnesses of what they relate.

next

next to impossible to assign their different territories, or give their history with any tolerable perspicuity, without previously tracing them to their distinct originals, taking a cursory retrospect of their migrations and settlements, and considering each of them under those various names by which they are mentioned by ancient historians. We must take it for granted, in the first place, that they were both descended from Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet.

Their posterity are supposed to have made migrations into Europe before they settled themselves into regular kingdoms and governments; and from those first colonies some of them returned again into Asia in process of time, when they gave names to countries, cities, mountains, and rivers, which have caused great confusion in ancient historians. It is no easy task even to determine whether the Scythians and the Gomerians, properly so called, were originally the same, or two distinct nations; and yet, without settling this previous point, we shall find it impossible to convey any distinct idea of their history.

None of the sacred historians mention these two nations by any other names than that of their progenitor; and profane authors have been so confounded by their variety of names, migrations, and exploits in several parts of Asia, as well as Europe, and particularly by the affinity of those names which they gave in both places to towns, rivers, and mountains, in expelling one another, that it is not easy to know whether they spoke of the same people, under different names, or of two distinct nations. Sure it is, that if they meant to represent them as distinct, they have most egregiously confounded them, by ascribing names, places, and exploits to the one, which belonged to the other. Herodotus, Ptolemy, and Justin^e, have called the Scythians, who emigrated into Asia, by some names, and attributed some actions and places to them, which, upon closer examination are found to have belonged to the Celtes or Gomerians, whom they had driven out of their European territories. Strabo tells us^f, that the old Greek historians gave the name of Scythians and Celto-Scythians to all the inhabitants of the northern regions, though it is plain that a considerable part of them were properly Celtes or Gomerians^g. And in the same

^e See Ptolom. Geogr. lib. vi. cap. 11. & 13. Herodot. lib. i. cap. 73, 103, & lib. iv. cap. 49—52. Justin. lib. i. cap. 8, & seqq.
^f Strab. Geogr. lib. xi. p. 349 & 352. ^g Vide Genebr. sub A. M. 1949. Lewis's Introd. in Hist. Britain, cap. iiii. Jun. in Genes. x. 2.

book he adds, that those people who inhabited beyond the Caspian Sea, which should be the Scythians, were, by the same Greek historians, called some Sacks, and others Massagetes, though the former of these names, at least, belonged only to the Celtes.

For these reasons, many learned men have chosen to reckon them as one people, branched out into that variety of names and characters under which they are distinguished in history. Notwithstanding which opinion, and the silence of the sacred books, Josephus's authority has been generally received both by ancient fathers and modern authors, for what reason we know not. He affirms the Celtes or Gauls to be descended from Gomer, and the Scythians from Magog, his next brother^b. With respect to the first of these positions, it is observed, that notwithstanding all the various denominations which they have undergone (C), they have still preserved their original name

^b Antiq. lib. i. cap. 7. Vide Hieron. Theodoret & al. in Genes. x. 2. Bochart. Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 38. Jun. Le Clerc. Patric, in Gen. x. 2.

(C) By these names we mean not only the Cymbrians, Cymmerians, and Cammerians; but those of Celtes, Gauls, Galatians, Titans, Sacks, and perhaps also those of Scythians, Celto-Scythians, Celtiberians, and some others; partly given to them out of compliment, and on account of their valour, and partly out of contempt, and in revenge for their incursions, plunders, and conquests. Thus the word *Celtæ*, in Greek *κελται*, or *κελτοι*, signifying *barbarians* in Homer and Pindar, might be given on account of their expertness in horsemanship (1).

Another author (2) derives that word, and that of Gaul, from the Celtic, in which both

signify a *warlike man*. Bochart conjectures that they were called Gauls and Galatians from the redness of their hair (3).

That of Titans may either allude to it, as it was a name of the sun, whose etymon can nowhere be so appositely found as in the Celtic, in which *ti*, or *ty*, signifies a *house*, and *tan*, or *taen*, *fire*, and both together *the house of fire*. Some, however, fetch it from the Celtic *tit*, which in that, as well as in the Hebrew, signifies *dust* or *dirt*; so that *Titani* shall signify the same as *terrigeneæ*, or *children of the earth* or *dirt*. This last etymon, if admitted, may be supposed to have been given them in scorn, and to

(1) Vid. Godwin not. in Comm. Cæsar. lib. i. cap. i. not. 3.
(2) Pezron. Antiq. Nat. Celt. chap. iii. (3) Bochart. Phaleg. lib. iij. chap. 6.

name of Gomro, or Cymro, as descendants of Gomer, and retain it to this day, in all those countries where the Celtic or Gomerian language is retained. The affinity of sound, however, between Cymro and Gomer is but a lame presumption.

Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, Dionysius of Alexandria, or rather Charax, Mela, and others, mention them under the names of Comarians, Camarians, Chomarians, Cymbrians, and Cymmerians; all which terms are supposed to be a corruption of their original name of Gomerians¹. We have likewise the authority of some ancient fathers, who agree that Gomer was the father and founder of the Gomerians, called afterwards Celtes, Galatians and Gauls². Cluverius gives us to understand, that the ancient Celtic nation, which, according to him, included the regions of Illyria, Germany, Gallia, Spain, the Britannic and other northern isles, spoke all the same language³, which was called Gomeræg, or *the language of Gomer*. This, however, is an inconclusive argument, founded upon an assertion unsupported by proof.

We are at least as much in the dark with respect to the Scythian nation. Josephus, who affirms them to be descended from Magog, hath been followed by many of the fathers, and by a great number of moderns⁴ who could find no better authority. In migrating into Europe, if Gomer's descendants turned towards the north-west, those of Magog may be reasonably supposed to have spread

¹ Ptolom. lib. vi. cap. 11—13. Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 16. Dion. Per. ver. 700. ² Hieron. Tradit. Hæbr. in Genes. Eustat. Isidor. Orig. lib. ix. cap. 2. Zonar. Bed. & al. ³ Antiq. German. lib. i. cap. 6. & seq. & Introd. ad Geogr. lib. ii. cap. 6. & seq. ⁴ Hieron. August. Eustath. Theodor. Bed. Joseph. Ben-Gor. Jun. Bochart. Rawlegh. Munst. Heylin, & al.

imply the baseness of their origin, as that of Sacks, which signifies *thieves* and *plunderers*, was given then on account of their living chiefly by that trade.

That of Celtiberians, or inhabitants of Celtiberia, or Spain, might be designed to distinguish those Celtes on that, from those on this side the Py-

renees. For thus we find Gallia or Gaul divided into Cis and Trans-Alpina, and the word Iberia seems derived from the old Celtic and Teutonic *iber*, which signifies *over* (4); and thus Spain, which is sometimes found in the plural number, was divided into Citerior and Ulterior.

(4) Cluver. lib. ii. cap. 3.

them-

themselves toward the north-east into both Scythias, where we find the ancient Muscovites or Tartarians; distinguished by the name of Mogli, which may be a corruption or abbreviation of Magogli, the sons of Magog. To these conjectures we may add, that there is scarce a nation under heaven that so fully answers the fierce and dreadful character, which the Scriptures give us of Gog and Magog, as that of the barbarous Scythians; though in fact this character was but too applicable to their neighbours in those early ages.

We shall now proceed to say something of their different migrations from Asia into Europe, which may still throw additional light upon this obscure subject. The reader may remember that we formerly settled Gomer, with his descendants about him, in the province of Phrygia. Alknenaz his eldest son, or, according to the Armenians, Togarmah his youngest, or, it may be, both of them took up their residence in Armenia; and Riphath, the second son in Cappadocia; or, in some province, in the neighbourhood of Phrygia^a. And when their increase made it afterwards necessary to enlarge their territories, it is reasonable to suppose, that they kept a correspondence with each other, by means of those rivers, along whose banks both they and their descendants were forced to pitch their tents, for the convenience of pasture for their numerous herds. Even when they began to spread themselves farther and wider into Europe, they seem to have moved regularly and in columns, without interfering one with another, and as it were by a settled contract. For in proportion to their advancing northward, we find the Gomerians, who had taken the left-hand, insensibly spreading themselves westward, towards Poland, Hungary, Germany, France, and quite up to Spain, whilst the Scythians, or descendants of Magog, moved to the right, eastward, towards Muscovy and Tartary, as far as the borders of Cathai.

^a Vid. Euseb. *Loc. Hebr. & Bochart. ubi supra, lib. iii. cap. 8.*

S E C T. II.

The History of the Celtes, under the Names of Gomerians, Cymerians, Cymbrians, Celtes, Gauls, Galatians, Titans, Sacks, &c.

*Celtes give
their
names to
Europe.*

WE have observed the regular progress of the Celtes from Phrygia; their first settlement, thorough Thrace, Hungary, Germany, Gaul, and Italy, till they had spread themselves to the utmost borders of Spain. In this large European tract it was, that having fixed their boundaries between the Scythians and themselves, they began to appear a powerful nation under a regular monarchy, or rather in several considerable and distinct kingdoms. Mention is made of them in so many parts of Europe by ancient geographers and historians, that Ortelius took the name of Celtæ and Celtic to be the general appellation of all that part of the world; and a map which he made of ancient Europe bears this title accordingly, “Europam, five Celticam, veterem, sic describere conabatur Abrahamus Ortelius.” Though Ptolemy says, that this part of the world was called Celtic from the people that first inhabited it. For it is plain from history, that almost every country in it, was inhabited by some of them; though those who spread themselves on both sides the Rhine, and thence towards the south and west, as far at least as the Pyrenees and the German Ocean, were the most famous of all, and in process of time gave all that country the name of Gallia, and Galatia, though they themselves retained their own ancient name of Gomeri, or Gomerians: as for the term Cymerians, or Cymbrians, it was given to none of the Celtes, but those who inhabited the more northern regions of Europe, above the Euxine Sea, and the north of the Danube, where they were less known and intermixed. Thus that part of Germany now known by the name of Holstein was called Cymbria Kersonesus. The names of Titans and Sacks were bestowed only on those of Lesser Asia, so that they seem to have been only known in this part of Europe, by those of Celtes and Gauls. The name of Galatians, γαλαται they received from the Greeks, but it is plain they meant the same with Gauls, and accordingly ancient authors represent them as

*The various
names
of the
Celtes.*

• See Pezron, Ant. Celt. Nat. cap. 2.

descended

descended from the same father, namely, Gomer². It was not however in this tract of ground that they began to be famous for their warlike exploits; they had already signalized their names in several parts of both the higher and lower Asia, where it is likely they began very early to be governed by several valiant princes of their own, and this is the reason that we find the name of Gomerians, and Gomarites, as well as those of Sacks and Titans in those parts among ancient geographers, which names were afterwards changed to that of Celtes, after their spreading themselves into Europe. But those early exploits are so intricate, so darkly and differently related, and built so much upon conjecture, that it would be dangerous to give them credit. It is plain, that those Asiatic conquests did not remain long enough in their possession, to deserve a place in the geography of their country.

It is not easy to fix the exact boundaries, which divided the Celtes from the European Scythians. We shall only observe that the former extended from the Danube to the farthest part of Spain and Portugal, reaching at least three degrees from east to west, that is, from that famous river to Cape Fenestre. It was bounded on the south by the Mediterranean Sea, and west and north-west by the Western and Northern Ocean. How far it extended full north, whether to the Hyperborean or Frozen Sea, or only to the Baltic, we presume not to say. It is probable they did not advance towards Sweden, Denmark, and the other more northern regions, till they found themselves too much straitened in the more pleasant climates of the south. However, it is certain that in the time of Julius Cæsar, not only they, but also the northern islands of Britain, Ireland, and even Iceland were inhabited, and constituted part of the Celtic Gallia. Accordingly Cluverius proves it to have contained the countries of Illyricum, Germany, Gaul, Spain, and the British islands; and adds, that they had all the same language, though varied into different dialects, and constituted but one large nation, though divided in process of time into a great multitude of tribes³. However, we find it greatly dwindled in Cæsar's time; who says it only contained the three provinces called Belgium, Aquita-

Their territories.

Geography.

² Comp. Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. i. cap. 7. Eustat. Comm. in Examer. Hieron. Tradit. Hæbr. in Genes. ix. Isidor. Origin. lib. ix. cap. 2. & Pezron. ubi supra. ³ Antiq. Germ. lib. i. cap. 2. & seq. ad 8.

nia, and Gallia, properly so called^r. So that Germany, Illyricum, and Spain, were already dismembered from it, as well as the western part of Italy.

So considerable was the Celtic nation, even in the reign of Augustus Cæsar, though greatly abated of its former grandeur, that it contained no less than sixty great communities, distinguished by the names of cities or districts, according to Strabo. But how much greater a figure they must have made before that time, may be guessed by that notable expedition they made into Italy, in the time of Tarquin the elder, about six hundred years before Christ, when Bellocus having penetrated through the Alps with a numerous army, reduced great part of Italy, called from them Gallia Cisalpina. For this, and their succeeding exploits against that province, and their conquest of its metropolis, we may justly look upon it as part of the Celtic or Gallic territories, though we should grant it to have been originally peopled by some other nation, than the descendents of Gomer. Yet it is much more likely that his descendents were the first that peopled it, with the rest of Europe, it being impossible that so fine a country should escape them in their progressive migration.

Plutarch, indeed, speaking of the Gallic or Celtic nation, tells us, that some of them passing over the Riphean mountains, went and dwelt towards the northern sea, the extreme or northern parts of Europe, whilst others remained in the southern parts, between the Pyrenees and the Alps^s. He adds, that having tasted of the wine that came out of Italy, they marched over the Alps, under the conduct of a malcontent, named Arron, and conquered those territories, which had been till then held by the Tuscans. But the name of Celtiberia, by which Spain was anciently known, and that of the Celtic promontory, now Cape Fenestre, or Finisterre, the utmost verge of Spain, westward, on the one hand, and of Gallia Togata, or Cisalpina, on the other, including near one third part of Italy^t westward, plainly prove that they did not confine themselves within the limits of those two ridges of mountains.

Upon the whole then, the ancient territories of the Celtes extended east and west, from the head-spring of

^r Vid. Bell. Gal. sub. init.

^s In Vit. Camill.

^t Vide

Ptolem. ubi supra. Mela, lib. iii. 1, 2. Cluver, Pezron. ubi supra. Pelloutier. Hist. des Celtes, lib. i. cap. 2. & al. 3. & alib. pass.

the Ilter or Danube, which divided them from the European Sarmatia, quite across Europe under Cape Finisterre, and the Streight of Hercules, now Gibraltar, and contained the following provinces: Iberia, now Spain and Portugal; Gallia^u, or Celtogalatia, now France, with the Low Countreies; Germany, as far as the Danube eastward, and Denmark northward; Rhetia, Vindelicia, and Noricum, since called Swisserland, Savoy, and Lombardy; and Gallia Cisalpina, or Togata, containing that part of Italy now known by the names of Piedmont, the duchies of Milan, Parma, Mantua, and the republics of Venice and Genoa, besides the southern and northern islands of Europe.

Their territories had, however, been very much curtailed long before Julius Cæsar, nay, even reduced within the boundaries of the Alps, and Pyrenean mountains, from east to west; by the Mediterranean on the south; and by the Rhine and British Ocean on the north and north-east. All that tract, which lies between Geneva and the Alps, had been some time before added to the Roman empire, over and above the Gallia Cisalpina lately mentioned, which they had invaded in the time of Tarquin, and advanced almost as far as the middle of Italy. Gallia, thus curtailed, was called Comata; and Cæsar divided it into three nations, namely, Belgæ, Aquitani, and Celtes or Gauls.^x (G). But by this time a great part of the Celtic territories had been dismembered from it; as Spain, which had passed from the Carthaginians to the Romans; the Gallia Narbonensis, which was become a province of the Roman empire^y, and included all the southern provinces of Gallia along the Mediterranean, from the Pyrenees to the Alps; this last contained at least Gascony, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné. Nevertheless, these three divisions were far from being all that the Celtes had left in Europe, though Cæsar has made the most of them in his account of that war: Other divisions of Gallia, which were made by Augustus, and other Roman emperors, after the conquest of it, will be best seen in the Gallic history.

^u Vide Polyb. lib. iii. lib. iii. cap. 20.

^x Bell. Gal. lib. i. cap. 1.

^y Ibid.

(G) Probably from the inhabitants wearing their hair long, contrary to the custom of the Romans. Thus we find also the Gallia Citerior called Togata, from the long robes, and the Uterior, or Transalpine, Braccata, from the breeches which were worn by its inhabitants.

Seas of note were the Mediterranean, the Western, British, and Northern Oceans, and the Baltic. The principal lake in those territories is that of Geneva, which is upwards of twenty miles in length, and about eight in breadth; and, by its being navigable, enriches both the city of that name, and all the adjacent countries. To this we may add that of Serviere, in High Dauphiné, very remarkable upon another account. It is a good day's journey up in the Alps, and yet has been found to have a communication with another much smaller at eight or nine miles distance, which is computed to be near half a mile perpendicular lower than the former, without being overflowed, or sending out more water than a very inconsiderable stream, scarce sufficient to turn a mill. Chief mountains are the Pyrenees and Alps, otherwise called Apennine, of great length, and such prodigious height, that they are always covered with snow. The latter were supposed by Livy and others to have been called Apennine, from Hannibal Penninus, but much more probably from the old Celtic word pen, *a head*, by reason of their exceeding height and whiteness. So that Apennine may be only a contraction A Pen Ghwin, *white heads*, as the word Alps may be derived from the Celtic alp or alb, *white*.

The chief rivers are the Isther, or Danube, which rises in Scythia, and empties itself into the Euxine, or Black Sea. The Rhine, which springs from the mountains of Switzerland, and runs through Germany and Holland into the British Sea. The Seine, Loire, and Garonne. The Durus, now Duero, which descends from the mountains of Sierra in Asturia, into the Atlantic Ocean at Oporto. The Tagus, or Tajo, which crosses great part of Spain and Portugal, and falls into the same ocean below Olyfipon, or Lisbon. The Anas, now Guadiana; the Boetis, or Tartessus, now Guadalquivir; these two empty themselves in the Gulf of Cadiz. The Iber, now Ebro, which descends from the same mountains of Sierra with the Durus, but taking a contrary course, runs eastward into the Mediterranean, and empties itself into the Gulf of Valencia. The Rhodanus, or Rhosne, which hath its spring from the mountains of Switzerland, but descends a contrary way, and crossing the Lake of Geneva, runs through the south part of Frante, and empties itself into the Mediterranean, near Marfeilles. The Padus, or Po; and Adesis, now Adige, which descend, the former from Piedmont, and the latter from Switzerland, and fall at a
small

small distance from each other into the Gulf of Venice. Of all which, as well as the mountains, lakes, &c. above mentioned, and others of less note, we shall not now make farther mention, but refer the description of them till we come to speak in course of those kingdoms and countries to which they belong. All that needs be added on that head is, that the greatest part of the names of these and of other smaller rivers are certainly of Celtic extraction, and agreeable to their different characters. Thus Garunna, from garw, *rough*, expresses its great rapidity. Rhodanus, from Rhedog, *to run swiftly*, implies its swift course. Arar, now Saon, is so called from its slowness, its descent into the Rhosne being scarce perceptible. Durius, or Duiro, from dour, *water*, or *river*, whence the names of a great many cities and towns, situate near the water side, ended in duro and durum. Thus likewise the names of counties and districts which ended in tan, or tain, and in the Latin tania, as Aquitain, Britain, Lusitania, &c. are formed from the Celtic tan and stan, *a region*², and imply the country of waters, of the Britons, and Lusians, which last were a Celtic people, from whom came the Portuguese.

S E C T. III.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Learning, and Trade, of the Ancient Celtes.

THOUGH the Celtes exceed all other nations in antiquity, supposing their descent from Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet, the eldest son of Noah, yet it must be owned, that our knowledge of their government, laws, and religion, is extremely defective; whether owing to the want of records, or rather to the slowness and length of their migrations into Europe, where we find them first settled into a spacious and regular polity. A late antiquary³ hath indeed attempted to prove, that upon the dispersion of Babel, Gomer, or his immediate descendants, entered Armenia, thence proceeded into Phrygia and Cappadocia, till at length, under the conduct of Acmon, and afterwards of his son Uranus, two warlike princes, they spread themselves farther, and sent their colonies

² Vide Camden. Brit. Lewis, Introduct. in Hist. Brit. Pezron. Antiq. lib. iii. sub voc. Tan, & alib. ³ Pezron. Antiq. Nat. Celt. pass. & ch. 15.

from Lesser Asia even into Spain. Chronus, or Saturn, Jupiter and Mercury, or Teutat, were their three next successors; and it was this last, according to our author, who settled the Gomerians, then called Titans, in Europe, into a regular government, gave them laws, and there they changed their name into that of Celtes and Gauls. According to this system then this Gomerian polity must have begun about the time of Terah, Abraham's father; or even of Nahor, if Maneus be admitted to have been, as some historians think, the father of Acmon, though Saturn was the first who took the title of king.

All this theory our author attempts to prove from ancient authors, and in a letter to the abbot Nicaise, displays an elaborate plan of Celtic antiquities, which, had he lived to have finished, might have afforded us a much greater number of others; but he died before he could complete the work; and the plan itself is both too copious and liable to exceptions, to be here inserted. We shall only observe, that nothing is more likely than that the government of the Celtes was originally monarchical as well as that of other nations, since we find it subsisting in the same form even in Cæsar's time, when they had spread themselves all over Europe. Only they had so far altered their constitution, that instead of obeying one monarch, they were divided into a number of petty kingdoms, and did not yield the absolute command to any individual, except when their territories were threatened with invasion from a common enemy.

What their laws were, whether reduced into a body, or depending upon the will of their sovereign, we cannot find. We are indeed told, that Mercury did polish and give them laws, and ^b that Samothès, otherwise called Dis, and Discelta, a man of singular learning and wisdom, and the first founder of the Celtic monarchy, gave them a body of laws and discipline, which he wrote in the Hebrew tongue, but in the Phœnician character; and that the Greeks borrowed the latter from the Celtes, when they re-entered Asia. It is added, that he was therefore called the Saturn of the Celtes; and that their learned men, such as divines and philosophers, were called from him Samothei. But if ever he wrote such a body of laws, it is certain we have nothing left of them; neither can we find any footsteps of either his or any other's in any author of credit. However, as they very much deviated

^b Vide Lewis, Hist. Brit. cap. 2. & anst. ab eo citat.

from the simplicity of their brethren the Scythians in their manner of life, they can no more be supposed to have been without some laws for the preservation of property, than their warlike genius could be without martial discipline.

The curetes, and afterwards the druids and bards, were the interpreters of their laws; judged all causes, whether criminal or civil; and their sentence was reckoned so sacred, that whoever refused to abide by it, was by them excluded from assisting at their sacred rites: after which exclusion no man dared converse with him, so that this punishment was reckoned the most severe of all, even severer than death itself.

Their religion was very like that of the Scythians; they neither built temples nor reared statues to the Deity, but planted spacious groves instead of them, which being open on the top and sides, were in their opinion more acceptable to the divine and unconfined Being which they adored. In this particular their religion seems to have resembled that of the Perses and disciples of Zoroaster. They only differed from them in making the oak, instead of the fire, the emblem of the Deity; in chusing that tree above all others to plant their groves with, and attributing several supernatural virtues to its wood, leaves, fruit, and mistletoe, all which were made use of in their sacrifices and other parts of their worship. At least, this is what appears to have been the notion and practice of their immediate descendents, the ancient Gauls and Germans, on each side the Rhine. But after they had adopted the idolatrous superstition of the Romans and other nations, and the apotheosis of their heroes and princes, they came to worship them much after the same manner; as Jupiter under the name of Taran, which in the Celtic signifies *thunder*: Mercury, whom some authors call Heus or Hesus, probably from the Celtic huadh, which signifies *a dog*, and might be the Anubis Iatrans of the Egyptians. But, Mars was held in the greatest veneration by the warlike, and Mercury by the trading part, as we shall shew in its proper place. In like manner we find the Cretans at once worshipping Jupiter, and shewing his sepulchre at the city of Gnoſſus; for which reason, whilst Callimachus calls them liars for forging a tomb for that god, others, especially the Christian fathers, justly blamed them folly for adoring him as a deity, whom they acknowledged to be interred in their own country. It would be labour lost to inquire what other rites, be-

Religion.

sides those already mentioned, the Celtes had before they deified their kings; but, in the sequel, we find them very much addicted to all kind of superstition, divination, astrology, magic, and other kinds of forcery. The care of religion was immediately under their curetes, since known by the name of druids and bards (D). These were, as Cæsar tells us, the performers of sacrifices, and all religious rites, and expounders of religion to the people. They also instructed youth in all kind of learning, such as philosophy, astronomy, astrology, the immortality and transmigration of the soul, which was both an incitement to virtue, and an antidote against the fear of death. These

(D) The curetes were, among the Titanic Celtes, what the druids were afterwards among the Gauls, and were had in the same reverence and esteem, in so much that the education of Jupiter was committed to them; and Cres, one of his sons, was of their society. It is not easy to trace their original; and Strabo, exact and learned as he was, doth not seem to be satisfied with all he has said about them. Their name of curete seems derived from the Celtic word *curo*, to *strike* or *beat one thing against another*, whence the Greek *κρυω* by the transposition of a letter, which signifies the same. - And this seems to have been given them on account of their striking their shields with their javelins, which an ancient author tells us they did (1), when they kept young Jupiter concealed in a cave, that his jealous father might not hear his cries. But, whether they went heretofore to the wars, and encouraged the combatants with this their noise and dances, or were exempt from that duty like the druids (2), they must have been

different from the bards, who, though in all other respects of the same order, yet were obliged to excite and encourage the people to war with their poetic and musical composition. Upon this account it is that these bards are affirmed by Cæsar (3) to have been the inventors of music and poetry, or rather to have received it from their king Bardus, whom Berosus affirms to have reigned over the Gauls and Britons, or Cymbri, from whom they were called bards.

The druids, some think, were so called from Berosus's Druys, the fourth King of the Celtes, a man of uncommon learning for those days: but we are of opinion, with Camden, that Pliny's is more probable, who thinks that they were so called from the Celtic and Greek word *dros* or *drofs*, an *oak*, which tree was held so sacred by the Celtes as well as Scythians, that they performed most of their religious rites near some large oaks, if not in oak groves, and offered no sacrifice without some leaves of that tree.

(1) Apollod. Bibl. i. cap. 7. ap. Pezron.

Brit. cap. 5. Pezron. chap. 13.

(2) Lewis, Hist.

(3) Bell. Gall. lib. vi.

they

they taught their disciples by oral tradition, esteeming them to be too sacred to be committed to writing.

Other more common subjects, such as their hymns to their gods, the exploits of their princes and generals, and their exhortations to the people in time of war, and especially before a battle, were couched in verse, and recited, or rather sung, by them, upon all proper occasions. Though even these were also kept from vulgar eyes, and either committed to memory, or if to writing, the whole was a secret to all the laity. Those poetic records were increased in Cæsar's time to such a bulk, that it took up a young bard near twenty years to learn them by heart. Diodorus, speaking of the Celtes, tells us farther, that the poets used to accompany their songs with instrumental music, such as that of organs, harps, and the like; and that they were had in such veneration, that even when two armies were engaged in battle, if one of these poets or bards appeared, both sides immediately ceased fighting. But the true reason was, that they were universally believed to be prophets, as well as poets, so that it was thought dangerous as well as impious, to disobey what they supposed came from their gods.

These prophetic philosophers kept academies, which were resorted to by a great number, not only of their own youth, but even of other countries, insomuch that Aristotle says, their philosophy passed from thence into Greece, and not from Greece thither^c. Diodorus quotes likewise a passage out of Hecateus, which is not less curious, importing, that their druids had some kind of instruments, by which they could draw distant objects nearer, and make them appear larger and plainer, and by which they could discover even seas, mountains, and vallies, in the moon; a testimony which shews that they must have made some great progress in that sort of learning above other nations. Other authors add many things in praise of their virtue and morality^d. But a Roman historian makes no scruple to call their religion an impious superstition; and as such it was forbidden by Augustus, and abolished by Claudius^e. Lucan is no less severe upon them; and it must be owned that they adopted, in process of time, several barbarous customs, such as sacrificing human victims to their gods, as more acceptable to them than any other animals^f. Diodorus tells us of another inhuman custom they used in

Cruel customs.

^c Ap. Laert. de Vit. Philos. cap. 1.

Camden, Lewis, & al.

lib. iii: cap. 2.

^d See Vitus Basingstoc.

^e Sueton, in vit. Claudi.

^f Mela.

their divinations, especially on important occasions, namely the killing some of their slaves, or some prisoner of war, if they had any, with a scimiter, to draw their augury from the streaming of their blood.

But though they resembled the Scythians in their barbarous customs and warlike temper, yet they were far from imitating that people in their pastoral life. They indeed anciently lived much the same wandering life. They carried their families in large waggons, ranging from place to place in search of conquest, pleasure, or pasture for their numerous flocks, on the milk and flesh of which they chiefly lived, except such venison as they killed, and such fruits as they found growing wild, for they were then wholly unattentive to agriculture; and when they adopted it in the sequel, they commonly left the care of it to their wives and slaves. But these degenerated much sooner than they, and from the most plain, simple, and temperate life, made a transition to drunkenness, and luxury. At length they began to build fine houses, towns, and cities, which last they fortified and adorned with spacious walls, towers, and sumptuous edifices. They were upbraided by the Romans with following what has been considered as the oldest law in the world, which gives to the strongest what the weaker cannot defend^s. This they not only acknowledged and gloried in, affirming that the gods always favoured those who had the best right; but recriminated with great justice against the Romans, who, though they pretended to disown the doctrine, yet made no scruple to follow the practice. And indeed so greedy were the Celtes of conquest and plunder, as well as of keeping what they had gained, that they generally fought with such strength and fury, that nothing could withstand them: and so sudden and violent were their onsets, that, like fire and storm, they drove all before them. They seldom gave quarter to their enemies, and, therefore, were looked upon as a cruel people^h. As for the prisoners they took in war, they commonly sold them to their great men, who made slaves of them, and appointed the most lightly of them for their retinue. Instead of the skins of their enemies, worn as ornaments by the more savage Scythians, these chose to adorn themselves with their spoil. They wore gold rings, and bracelets, and chains about their necks; and were very neat in their dress.

^s Vide Plutarch in Vit. Camil. ^h Id. in Vit. Mar. Vid. & Strab. Tacit. Dio, Herodian, Mela, & al.

We have also observed that they were expert horsemen, so that, considering their martial genius and discipline, their cavalry seldom failed of doing execution. They were no less famed for their armed chariots, and their dexterity in managing them. In other respects we do not find that they had any thing but what was common to almost all other nations. Their arms were bows and arrows, darts, javelins, scimiters, daggers, and a kind of bayonets; they had likewise shields, and head-pieces: and as they were divided into petty kingdoms, or tribes, they divided their armies in the same manner in time of war, that the valour and merit of every tribe might be the better known, and that every man might be thereby stimulated to advance the honour of that to which he belonged. As a further encouragement to their bravery, it was the business of their poets to record the actions of those that signalized themselves, in songs and stories which were afterwards sung at their games, and other solemnities, as well as when they went to engage an enemy; and this recital had such an effect upon them, that they chose to die with their weapons in their hands, rather than be made prisoners. It was also their custom, before a battle, to observe the heavens, and, if possible, to avoid fighting till after the full moon. They used also, like other nations, to consult their priests or augurs upon all emergencies, but especially before an engagement; and, if the augury proved good, those priests used to march before them with songs, and dances, and musical instruments, till the onset was begun; but if their augury proved otherwise, they gave such heed to it, that nothing but absolute necessity could prevail on them to fight. Their martial laws used likewise to be couched in verse, and set to warlike tunes, which they were obliged to learn by rote, and to sing upon proper occasions, so that their very youth were versed in them, and knew the theory of military discipline, long before they were of age to bear arms. They seem, in a word, to have omitted nothing that could inspire them with a desire of conquest and glory; and to cherish the warlike temper for which they have been so famed in history.

Warlike discipline.

Incitements to valour and bravery.

Superstitious customs.

Their language was the old Celtic, or Gomerian, the same which is still spoken in the mountains and islands of Scotland, as well as in some parts of Ireland; and, without all doubt, the Welsh is a dialect of the same tongue. It was universally spoken through Europe, except that through length of time, and distance of place, and intermixture with the Scythians and other nations, it had been divided

Language.

divided into a great variety of dialects, which still retained the plain marks of their original mother¹. Even the Galatians, who were settled in Lesser Asia so many centuries before, are affirmed by St. Jerom to have spoke the same language with the inhabitants of the province of Triers, or Treves², which was then a mixture of old Celtic and Teutonic; not confined to Triers, but common to Gaul and Germany; but that city is only mentioned by that father, as being in his time the metropolis of Gaul, in which he had made some abode, and where he had an opportunity of informing himself about the nature of the ancient language. Neither need we wonder that the Gallo-Greeks should retain the old Celtic, since they were descended from them, and especially if we consider how fond and tenacious the whole Celtic nation was of it. And indeed those who are best acquainted with it will readily own, that no tongue, either ancient or modern, carries greater marks of antiquity than this Gomroeg, or Gaelic.

Poetry.

We shall take a proper opportunity of speaking our sentiments of their ancient poetry, in which their curetes and druids recorded all the exploits of their heroes; for those poets were their only historians, and their tongue abounded, like the Hebrew, and other eastern languages, with bold allegories and figures. As to their music, they are supposed to have brought it from Crete, where having found an iron mine on Mount Ida, they began to forge tools, arms, shields, and armour; hence sprang not only the trades of smiths and armourers, but even the first notions of music are said to have been taken from the sound of their hammers, the clattering of their armour, and the beating of their shields, especially when the curetes were employed in nursing young Jupiter¹. How far they have improved these, and what other arts they cultivated, must be only guessed at from their manner of life; for since, their warlike disposition did neither hinder them from building cities and magnificent edifices, nor from affecting some grandeur in their equipages, dress, and household furniture, we may reasonably suppose all those

Music.

¹ De his vide Cam. Brit. Joach. Perion. Orig. Ling. Celt. Brierw. Inquir. in Orig. Ling. Lluydd Davies & Robert. Gram. Wooton, Hick. Lexic. Lewis & Pezron, ubi supra. Hotoman Franco Gallia, cap. xi. p. 20, & al. mult. Vid. & Bochart Geogr. Sacr. part i. lib. i. cap. 41, ad fin. & Pelloutier, ubi supra, cap. v.
² Prefat. in Comm. in Epist. ad Galat. vid. Accet. sup. citat. et Glossar. Celt. in Collect. Leibnitz, tom. ii. p. 81, & seq.
¹ See Newton's Chronol. p. 14. Pezron, Pelloutier, & al. sup. citat.

arts and manufactures that tended to luxury, were encouraged amongst them. To these we may add agriculture and feeding of numerous herds, which they committed to the care of their slaves and inferior sort of people. Whatever luxury they might be guilty of with respect to dress and equipage, we do not find that they used any in their food. Pulse of all sorts was their common diet, especially that which the Greeks called *elimos*, which we take to be the same with *lin*, which in the Celtic signifies *millet*, and is a very nourishing grain. Milk was also a considerable part of their diet; and as to flesh they eat very sparingly of it, if we except that of swine, called in the Celtic *fouckh*, whence perhaps the Greek *ξυνα* or *ξίνα*, and the word *sick*, used by the country people, in several parts of Europe to call their hogs.

Food.

Concerning their ancient traffic we have not much to say, only when Mercury the son of Jupiter had obtained the empire of the West, that is of Europe, as we shall see in its proper place; he is said to have polished them very much by his laws and learning, and by the great improvements he made in trade and commerce (E), of which, after he was deified, he was worshipped as the patron and protector, and had every where statues reared to his honour, as we are told by Cæsar himself^m. Thus, from a wandering; conquering, ravaging, proud, and ambitious people, like the Scythians; he so polished them by degrees, that they vied in most respects with all other nations in learning and politeness, as will farther appear by what we have to say of that deity under the next section. We might here add the character that is given them by many ancient authors, with relation to their virtues and vices. But as this relates rather to the Gauls, than to the old Celtes their ancestors, we shall not expatiate on that subject, till we come to the Gallic history.

Their traffic.

Their character.

^m Comment. lib. vi. cap. 16.

(E) Hence the name of Mercury seems to have been given him from the Celtic *merc*, merchandize, and *ur*, a man, as if he had been called by way of excellence the man, master, or founder of merchandizing. That of Teutat, which he is supposed to have taken at his going into, or returning from Egypt, seems likewise to be of Celtic extraction, teut tat, signifying the father of the people, such as he was upon this and many other accounts.

S E C T. IV.

The Chronology and History of the Gomerians or Celtes.

ALL that has been said concerning the time of their migration from Asia, as well as of their exploits in that part of the world, is built upon mere conjecture; and it would be a fruitless attempt to settle their chronology upon a better footing. Sir Isaac Newton thinks that both the Celtes and Scythians had already spread themselves over Lesser Asia and Europe, before the year of the flood 1220, that is, about the latter end of the Israelitish judges. But before that time, they had signalized themselves in Asia, under the names of Sacks and Titans, and had a succession of kings, the first of whom, according to Pezron, was contemporary with Terah, the father of Abraham; that is, about the year of the flood 1070. Pezron, however, offers little more than conjecture for what he has advancedⁿ.

But in order to open a way to their history, it will be necessary to mention what is previous to it, with respect to the migrations and exploits of the Gomerians in the several parts of Asia, before their spreading into Europe. For though mentioned by ancient geographers and historians under other names, such as Titans, Sacks, Parthians, and Celtes, yet they seem to have been really the same people, the descendents of Gomer; and these appellations were given them by other nations, whilst they themselves not only preserved that of their progenitor, but were even known by it to those very authors, who mention them under other denominations.

From Phrygia, the place of their first settlement, we find them under the name of Comarians, fixed along the river Jaxartes, beyond the Caspian Sea, quite up to the province of Bactria^o; these Ptolemy expressly calls Sacks, Gomerians, and Curetes^p; "The Saccæ (says he) which inhabited along the Jaxartes, were the Camerians and Curetes." As we find the Saccæ in the more fruitful plains of Armenia, Cappadocia, Gallo-Græcia, and all those provinces which lie along the Euxine Sea, we may hence

ⁿ Ant. Nat. Celt. chap. viii. & seq.^o Mela, lib. i. cap. 2.^p Geogr. lib. vi. cap. 13.

frame a kind of route how they spread themselves through all that part of Asia, till their course was stopt by the Sogdians, who, being of Scythian race, had probably possessed themselves of that province long before the Chomarians reached that of Bactria, and had by that time extended themselves much farther northwards from Armenia, either for want of room, or through discord. Some of them probably passed over the vast mountains which lie on the south of the Margiana, and entered into the country of the Median Arii, where, having fixed themselves by main force, and being as it were divided from, or exiled by the rest, they were called in scorn, Parthians, which signifies in the Celtic, *parted* or *divided from*. The same fact is affirmed by Justin^a, with this difference, that he makes them of Scythian extraction, according to the vulgar error of the ancient Greek writers, who, as Strabo tells us^c, called all the nations towards the north of Asia, Scythians, and Celto-Scythians. The origin of the Parthians is likewise confirmed by several other authors^d, though it doth not appear to us that the Persians were descended from those people.

That the Saccæ possessed themselves of at least the best part of Armenia, is expressly affirmed by Strabo, who adds, that they called that country by their name Saccacena. It likewise appears from the same author, that they passed over the mountains, bordering upon Armenia, and penetrated into Cappadocia, that part especially which is upon the coasts of the Euxine Sea. This expedition seems to have been made under the conduct of Acmon, the father of Uranus, and of his brother Dœas, where they gave their name, the former to the capital city, called Acmonia, in which we are also told^e, was a grove dedicated to him after he was deified; and the latter to the spacious Dœan plains near the city of Themiscyra, along the river Thermodon. From the Euxine Sea, their progress towards the Palus Mæotis, is very obvious; and here we find their name given to the Cymbrian or Cimmerian Bosphorus, from which they needed but to cross the Tanais, to enter into their European territories.

We must now leave these colonies extending themselves towards Europe, and return into Phrygia, whither Ac-

^a Lib. xii. cap. 1. ^c Geogr. lib. xi. ^d Vide Arrian. in Parthic. ap. Phoc. Steph. Byz. in Voc. Parthi. ^e Journand. de Reb. Getic. cap. vi. apud Pezron. cap. iv. ^f Apollon. Argonaut. lib. ii. Steph. Byzant. sub voce Acmon.

mon is supposed either to have returned from Cappadocia^u, or, which is more likely, where he continued after the departure of his ancestors. For here we find the like monuments both of him and his brother, namely, another city called Acmona, and said by the same authors to have been founded by him; likewise another grove dedicated to him, and some spacious plains called Docantes, from his brother Dosas^v. From which circumstances, we may reasonably infer, that he both reigned, and was afterwards worshipped here likewise; and consequently, that it were absurd to suppose him a fabulous person, any more than his descendents Uranus, Saturn, and the rest of the Titan princes. And as for the Celtes being descended from them, we find it expressly affirmed by a very ancient author^z, who was no friend to the Celtes or Gauls, and yet he says, that the *κελτοί* were *οψιγονοί Τιτάνις*, the descendents or late posterity of the Titans. If it be objected, that the druids, in Cæsar's time, boasted of their descent from Dis, or Pluto^y, it will appear that he also was a Titan prince, who had the western part of the empire, that is Europe, for his share, whilst Jupiter kept the eastern part to himself; so that both Cæsar and Callimachus agree in the main point. Pluto being the great grandson of Acmon, the first prince of note of the Gomerian or Titanic race.

This prince was the son of Mon, Man, or Maneus; and his name Acmon, or perhaps rather Ack-Man seems to imply as much. He is supposed to have lived in the days of Terah, the father of Abraham; so that including Maneus in the list, we have a succession of six Titan princes, whose government, according to him, lasted about three hundred years^z, and are as follows,

Man or Maneus	Saturn
Acmon	Jupiter
Uranus	Theutat.

We have already mentioned how impossible it is to adjust the chronology of these princes; and what Pezron has said upon the subject, seems vague and uncertain.

Maneus.

We have nothing recorded concerning Maneus, but that he is reported to have been the father of Acmon^a.

^u Pezron, chap. vii.

^v Byzant. ubi supra.

^y Hymn. in Delem. ver. 176, & seq.

^z Pezron, chap. 15.

ap. Byzant. sub voce Acmon.

^a Cal-

^y Vide Cæs.

^a Polyhiff.

Concerning Acmon, if he be the same with the Elion of Sanchoniatho, as this author makes him the father of Uranus, who was therefore called Acmonides, or the son of Acmon; we have nothing particular, except that he had a son named Epigeus Autochton, called afterwards Ouranus; and that being killed by a wild beast, he was afterwards deified and worshipped by his descendents ^b.

Acmon.

Uranus, according to the same ancient author, succeeded his father, and married his own sister *Ta*, *Ge*, or the earth (*F*), by whom he had four sons, the eldest of whom, called *Isus* or *Chronus*, afterwards *Saturn*, also succeeded him. Sanchoniatho observes that he had two other names, and that that of Ouranus was not given him till afterwards; but though he knew not the reason of it, yet if we attend to the Celtic etymology, *ur* or *our*, a man, and *en*, heaven; it will appear highly probable that he was called *our-en*, a man of heaven, from his being very much addicted to the study of astronomy, and astrology. This appellation the Greeks might easily convert into *Uranus* or *Ouranus*, if not wholly derive that word from his name. We pass by many fabulous particulars, which have been invented of him by the Greeks, and other writers, and shall only add, that his new conquests in Asia and Europe seem to have been owing rather to his ambition than to his magic; to his policy, than to his skill in astrological predictions. How long he reigned we are not told, but after having enlarged his dominions, he had the misfortune to be deprived of his kingdom and liberty, if not of his life, by his ambitious son and successor *Saturn*, who sent him into close confinement, where he either died with grief, or was dispatched by *Saturn's* order.

Uranus.

Whence so called.

Deposed by Saturn.

Saturn, furnamed *Chronos*, or *Cronos*, is said by Sanchoniatho to have been the eldest son of *Uranus*, whilst other authors affirm him to have been the youngest of all ^c; and that his eldest brother, who was called *Titan*, did for a long while contest the crown with him, till being at length overpowered, he was forced to submit.

Saturn.

^b Sanchionath. lib. iii.
lib. i. cap. 1. & al. Vide *Pez.* chap. 10.

^c Hesiod. in Theogn. Apollon.

(F) It is observable that the Greeks who have translated this name have also retained the ancient appellation of *Titea*, which is derived from the

Celtic *Tit*, which signifies the same thing. We shall find many more such Greek names in the sequel, which are palpably of Celtic extraction.

Saturn

*Whence so
called.*

Saturn is supposed to have been the first who took upon him the regal dignity; for, we are told^a, that all his predecessors, down to Uranus, had contented themselves with the title of princes; and an ancient father tells us^c; upon the authority of Perecydes, that Saturn was the first that wore the diadem, whence he is supposed to have been surnamed Cronus, which in the Celtic signifies *crowned* (G). He likewise observes in another place, that he much delighted in wearing a red cloke, or a short coat of the Gallatic dye, from which perhaps came also the royal purple, so much worn by kings and persons of the highest rank (H).

*Extreme
jealousy.*

Saturn, though he was no less politic and crafty than prone to ambition, could not so well conceal his treasonable designs, but that Uranus had some suspicion of them; and, to be beforehand with him, dispatched his daughter Rhea to make away with him by some private means. But, Saturn, who perhaps was apprized by his mother Titea, whose jealousy had so far transported her, as to encourage him, if not to inspire him with the first design of this unnatural rebellion, soon found a way not only to divert her from her enterprize, but to bring her over to his side. This incident caused an open rupture, in which Saturn, after a contest of several years, proving the stronger of the two, imprisoned his father, and made himself absolute; after which success, it is supposed, that not being contented with the title of prince, he assumed that of king; and indeed if it be true, that he had enlarged his dominions, not only in Asia, but in Europe, as far as Spain, and gained also some provinces in Africa,

^a Vid. Enn. ap. Lactant. lib. i. cap. 13.
Coron. cap. 17.

^c Tertull. de

(G) That of Saturn, which some have absurdly derived from the Hebrew *satar*, *to hide*, because he went and concealed himself in Italy from his son Jupiter, is more naturally deduced from the Phrygian Saturn, or rather Sadorn, which signifies *strong* and *potent*; for so he really was, till weakened by his son's unnatural rebellion. Sanchoniatho gives him the name of Il or Ilos, which may be properly enough de-

rived from the Hebrew word *el*, which signifies *strong* and *mighty*, and is in that tongue one of the names of God.

(H) Saturn being supposed to have dwelt in Phrygia, part of which was afterwards called Galatia; Pezron observes, that this country being very famous for dying that colour, the Greek *κoccος*, and Latin *coccus*, may naturally be derived from the Celtic *coch*, which signifies *red*.

a less

a less title than this could not well suit his ambitious mind.

He had two notable counsellors, besides his mother, one from his youth named Hermes Tresmegistus, a great philosopher and consummate politician; some add, that he was also a great conjurer; the other was his sister Rhea, whom he afterwards made his wife. These three so far prevailed upon the princes and grandees of the court, and especially upon his other brothers, with their address and munificence, that they all came into his party, so that it is no wonder if his dominions and conquests vastly exceeded those of his predecessors, and himself proved so successful both at home and abroad. But his happiness was interrupted many different ways: he was extremely jealous of his children; he had dethroned his own father, and could not be without fear, lest his crime should be punished in the same manner. This apprehension made him sacrifice them to his jealous guilt, as some think, or as others believe to the ghost of his father. He was extremely addicted to superstition and divinations, and it is not improbable that his diviners might increase his suspicions, by foretelling that he was in danger of being dethroned by some of them, as he really was by Jupiter. He had still another private enemy to ward against, namely, his brother Titan, who, though forced to yield to him, at least in appearance, might in time find means to try his fortune again. But perhaps his mind was so intent upon his children, that he wholly neglected his brother. This circumstance at length afforded Titan an opportunity of surprising him and his wife Rhea, whom he immediately conveyed into some province of Asia; and he kept Saturn himself in close confinement till his son Jupiter came with a considerable army of Cretans, and restored his captive parents to their liberty and kingdom.

*His two
chief coun-
sellors.*

*Rescued by
Jupiter.*

What we have observed concerning Saturn's jealous temper and cruelty to his children, must, in all probability, have been the reason that induced his wife Rhea to take such pains to preserve her youngest son Jupiter, by concealing her pregnancy from her husband; by being delivered of him in one place, and sending him privately to be educated in another (I). This action therefore of
Jupiter,

*Jealousy of
him.*

(I) Authors are not agreed that he was born in that island about the place of Jupiter's birth. The Cretan's pretended on Mount Ida; and Callimachus, who gives them the title

*Defeated
by him.*

*Retires in-
to Italy.*

*Jupiter
wars with
the Titans.*

Jupiter, pious and generous as it was, rather increased than dispelled his jealousy. His surprize to find himself over-reached by his wife, and to see his son, whom he did not dream of, not only grown into years, but of courage and strength sufficient to overcome his enemies, made him fear lest he should in time deprive him, with the same facility, of his kingdom and life. Lactantius adds, upon the authority of Evemerus, that he went to consult the oracle which cautioned him to beware of his son Jupiter, by whom he ran a great risque of being dethroned. Thus warned, he entered Crete with an army; for his son had again retired thither, after having atchieved his deliverance; but Saturn soon found that the Cretans were all in his son's interest, and that among them, his own person was not secure. This consideration obliged him to return into that part of Greece since called Peloponnesus, whither Jupiter, enraged at his cruel design, followed him with an army, and forced him to retire into Italy. Janus was then king of the aborigines, who may either have been of Celtic extraction, or upon some other account friends to the Titans. However, that good old king gave him a kind reception, and even admitted him into a kind of partnership with him in the kingdom^f; so that the region where Saturn reigned, adjoining to the Tiber, was from him called Saturnia. How long he lived there, and what became of him, it is impossible to guess, except that his tomb being shewed in Sicily, may induce one to suppose that he retired to that island, where he ended his days^g.

Jupiter, or, as he was rightly called Jou (K), because he was the youngest of Saturn's children; did not how-
ever

^f Tertul. Apolog. ubi supra.
Alexand. Admonit. ad Gent.

^g Philocr. apud Clem.

of liars for having forged his tomb there also, because such a god as he could not die, yet absurdly enough, owns him to have been born, and affirms the place to have been Mount Lycæus, in Arcadia. The latter may be the more probable of the two. The hymnist adds, that it was since held so sacred, that no woman dared to approach the place. It was

also called by way of excellence the Sacred Top, and the Puerperium, or place of Rhea's lying-in. As for the Cretans, they might be easily led into the belief of his being born among them, because he had been conveyed and brought up there with the utmost privacy from his very infancy.

(K) The irregular inflexion of his name into Jovis, &c. shews

ever enjoy his kingdom peaceably. His uncle Titan, or perhaps one of his sons, having probably found means to strengthen his party, whilst Jupiter was employed against his own father, excited a war against him, which continued to rage ten years, with the utmost fury on both sides, both by sea and land, and did not end but with the total overthrow of Titan and his army.

This war seems to be the true origin of the fabulous war of the giants or Titans against the gods, which the poets have so interwoven with their inventions, that it is scarcely possible to discover the truth. This final overthrow was given them near the ancient city of Tartesa in Spain, a sea-port town to the north of Cadiz^b: thither it seems Jupiter went in person with a great fleet, and a powerful army, and having brought over some of their confederates to his side, and gained this signal victory, he reigned very peaceably to the end of his life.

Totally overthrows them.

Jupiter after the example of his predecessors married his own sister Juno. But as he was seldom without some amorous intrigues with other women, by whom he had a numerous issue, he was forced to bear with many mortifications from his jealous and revengeful queen. On the other hand he did not follow his pleasures so close, but that he allowed himself proper seasons for the administration of justice throughout the many provinces of his kingdom; and especially in extirpating robbers and banditti, who sheltered themselves in the forests of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Illyria, where they committed the most horrid outrages. But, as he had made Mount Olympus^c, one of the most delightful parts of Thessaly, his chief residence,

Marries his sister Juno.

^b Tertul. Apolog. Scholiast. in Iliad viii. ad vers. 479. ap. Pezron. cap. 11. ^c Evemer. ap. Laëtant. Institut. lib. i. cap. 10.

shews it plainly. It is therefore absurd to derive it, as Cicero doth, upon the authority of Varro, from Juvan's Pater, which the inflexion will not admit of; when the Celtic Jou, or as we pronounced it Joo, which signifies *young*, is in all respects so much nearer to it; and Jupiter seems plainly to be the same with Jou-pater, which last was added to his former

name of Jou, when he came to be worshipped as the greatest of the gods.

Accordingly we find that the ancient Latins did not write his name Jupiter, but Jaopiter, Joupiter, and Japiter. But the Celtic has still preserved his ancient name of Jou, and call Thursday, or the Dies Jovis of the Romans, Diz-jou, and Di-jou, the *day of Jove* (2).

(2) Vide Pezron, cap. 12.

he was under a kind of necessity to rid those countries of such vermin, that his subjects might have the freer access to his court.

*Division of
his king-
dom.*

He is affirmed to have divided his kingdom, and to have given the western, or European part of it, to his uncle Dis, or Pluto, surnamed also Agefilaus (L), whilst he himself kept the Asiatic, or eastern division. He bestowed some part of Africa on his nephew Atlas, but having afterwards either conceived some jealousy of him, or detected him in some treasonable design, he caused him to be put to death.

*Marries
Atlas's
daughter.*

This Atlas had a daughter named Maia, or Flowery, whose beauty Jupiter was not proof against, but he could not obtain her upon any other condition than that of marriage. By her he had a son named Theutat, or Mercury, of whom we shall speak hereafter. This marriage failed not to enrage Juno, who was ever plotting against him. We cannot guess whether Atlas had been unfortunately drawn into some rebellion by the jealous queen; but Jupiter is by some accused of having degenerated into a kind of tyrant, through the continual seditions which she raised against him, which yet he found means to discover and defeat^k.

*His cha-
racter.*

On the other hand the Cretan historians extolled his virtues to the skies. Diodorus Siculus, and Ennius, upon their authority, bestow the greatest encomiums on him for his strength, valour, prudence, justice, for his encouraging learning and virtue, and punishing injuries, violence and robberies, as well as for his many wholesome laws and regulations. He lived a hundred and twenty years, of which having reigned sixty-two, this great hero resigned his breath like other men, and was buried by the curetes in the isle of Crete, and in the city of Gnosus, where his sons erected a stately monument, which was shewn many ages afterwards by the inhabitants^l. His son Cres, or Cret (from whom the island of Crete is supposed to have had its name, cret, in Celtic, signifying *bold and daring*,) was then at the head of the curetes, and performed the last devoirs to his father, after which he

Death.

^k Pezron. & Auct. ab eo citat.
tant. lib. i. cap. 11, & al.

^l Cicer. Evemer. ap Lac-

(L) Jupiter's having the dominion of the east, or sun-rising, as Pluto had that of the west, or sun-setting, probably gave rise to the fable importing that the former was the lord of heaven, and the latter of the infernal regions.

assumed

assumed the reins of government in that island^m. How the remainder of his kingdom was divided among the rest of his successors, we cannot explain; but we find that his son Theutat, or Mercury, had the western part assigned to him, probably after the death of his uncle Dis, or Plutoⁿ.

Mercury is allowed, by all antiquity, to have been the son of Jupiter by Maia. We have given already the etymon of those two names. The Greeks called him Ἑρμης, Hermes (M), and the Latins, Faunus. He was famed for his learning, and especially for his skill in auguries, magic, and philosophy. He was active, courageous, and eloquent; and so prudent that he always adhered to his father's interest. For all these good qualities he became his chief favourite and counsellor, and was, also, by the fabulous writers, affirmed to be the interpreter of the gods. An ancient father tells us, that he went down into Egypt to penetrate farther into their mysterious arts and sciences, and that, at his return, he assumed the name of Theutat^o. It was, probably, from the Egyptians that he learned the art of melting, refining, casting, and working metals, which art he is said to have first brought into Europe. He not only taught them metallurgy, but also how to make an advantageous traffick into other countries, for which he had the surname of Merk-ur, or Mercury. This great improvement, which could not but endear him to his subjects, gave him an opportunity of polishing that rude and cruel nation, which, till then, seems to have made the trade of war and plunder their chief study and delight. He gave them a body of laws, encouraged the liberal arts and sciences, and caressed the foreigners who flocked into his dominions, especially those who brought along with them any curious arts. Thus, by his address and eloquence, he so civilized and improved his subjects, that his name was still dear to them in Cæsar's time, who tells us, that he was held in veneration above all other gods, and had statues and altars reared to his honour in every town and village^p.

Some attribute the invention of the Olympic games to him, others ascribe them to Hercules; but, if Pausanias

^m Vide Pezron. *ibid.* ⁿ Suid. sub voc. Πάριος. Chronic. Alex. and. ubi supra. ^o Cyril. Alexand. lib. cont. Julian. ^p De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. cap. 16.

(M) Which name comes, probably, from the Celtic, *armes*, which signifies *divination*. For Mercury seems to have outdone all his ancestors in the knowledge and constant practice of that art.

Mercury.

Goes into Egypt.

Introduces traffic among the Celtes.

And the Olympic Games.

be right, they must have been much older, since he tells us, that Saturn and Jupiter had wrestled together at their celebration^q. They may, however, be supposed to have made some considerable improvements in them, each according to his particular talent, and thereby eclipsed the memory of their first inventor. He reigned, according to the Alexandrian Chronicle, thirty-four years; but whether or not his life ended with his reign, it is not easy to determine. Suidas^r and the above mentioned Chronicle say, that his brothers being grown jealous of his superior power and merit, formed such a conspiracy against his life, that he found himself under a necessity of securing all his treasure, and retiring into Egypt, where he spent the remainder of his days in peace. On the other hand Livy acquaints us^s, that there was a large tomb near New Carthage, in the time of Scipio and Hannibal, which was called the tomb of Mercury Teutat; and this would incline one to believe that he died in his own dominions. We are no less in the dark about the condition of his kingdom from his death to its conquest by the Romans, except that the unweildiness of so vast an empire probably caused it to split into many petty kingdoms under some of his successors. This was at least the case in which the Roman conqueror found them, when he invaded the Celtic territories.

These intestine divisions having once weakened the strength of this large empire, not only the maritime parts became a prey to their warlike neighbours, but their frontier provinces likewise. Among the first Iberia, or Spain was dismembered from it by the Carthaginians, from whom it passed to the Romans, together with the southern provinces, since called Gallia Narbonensis, and the provinces on the other side the Alps. The Scythians, it is likely, also encroached upon them on the north side, and very probably seized upon that part of their territories which was afterwards called Scythia in Europe, and drove them quite to the hither side of the Danube. For, it seems most natural, that in their first migrations, the same boundaries which parted Europe from Asia, also separated the Celtic and Scythian dominions. However that be, and whether through the conquering sword of their neighbours, or through their intestine wars, or want of sufficient room, or whatever other motive might occasion it, certain it is, that several powerful colonies of those Celtes, or Gauls,

^q Lib. viii. qui est Arcadicor.

^r Hist. lib. xxii. cap. 44.

^s Sub voc. *Ελληνες*

returned into Lesser Asia, where, finding almost every where some ancient monuments of their progenitors, they settled in several parts of it by force, and bestowed upon them some of their new-gotten names; such as Galatia, Parthia, Saccacene, and others, without which it would be impossible to distinguish these latter excursions and exploits, from those by which they had signalized themselves before their migration into Europe.

S E C T. V.

The Geography of Scythia.

HOW this prodigious tract of land acquired, at first, the name of Scythia, we cannot pretend to determine. We have but two tolerable conjectures to offer; the first is, that which derives the name from the Greek *σκυθισται*, which expresses the fierceness of their countenance and natural temper; and the other, which derives it from the Teutonic word *scheten*, or *shuten*, to shoot, at which art this nation is affirmed, by Herodotus, Lucian, and others[†], to have been so singularly expert, that this name is supposed to have been emphatically given them on that account; so that, according to this supposition, the word Scythian properly signifies a great shooter or archer. As the Tartars and Muscovites called themselves Mogli, supposed an abbreviation of Magogli, the sons of Magog; that of Scythian might be either given to them by other nations, or perhaps by the Celtes, whose language did not originally differ much either from the Scythian or Teutonic.

Scythia, whence so called.

This vast territory, which extends from the Ister, or Danube, the boundary of the Celtes, that is, from about the twenty-fifth to almost the hundred and tenth degree of east longitude, was divided into Scythia in Europe, and Scythia in Asia, including, however, the two Sarmatias, or, as they are called by the Greeks, Sauromatias, now the Circassian Tartary, which lay between, and severed the two Scythias from each other. Sauromatia was also distinguished into European and Asiatic, divided from the European Scythia by the river Don, or Tanais, which falls into the Palus Mæotis, and from the Asiatic by the Rha, now Volga, which empties itself into the Caspian Sea[‡].

Vast extent.

[†] Vid. Gorop. Becan. Heylin, Pezron, Cluver, & a).

[‡] Ptol. Mel. Strab.

Sarmatians, who.

But the Sarmatians differed so little from the Scythians in their language, religion, and customs, if we may believe Herodotus ^v, that we may reasonably suppose them to have been originally a branch of that nation, if not their very descendants by the Amazons, with whom, that author tells us, they intermarried, and begot the Sarmatian offspring. But the former opinion seems the most probable, when we consider how easy, short, and regular, their migration into that country was from the place of their first setting out; and we find in the very center, between Armenia and Sarmatia, a large province called Iberia, which is much more likely to be that which Josephus tells us was peopled by Tubal, the brother of Gomer and Magog, than the Celtiberia of Spain.

Boundaries of Scythia.

Upon the whole then we may safely venture to say, that the two Scythias were only parted by the boundaries of Europe and Asia, that is by the river Tanais, descending, as is supposed, from the Riphean mountains into the Palus Mæotis. For, beyond those mountains northward, the Scythians did not advance into any of those remote regions, so that these were the proper confines of the Asiatic Scythia on the west. The northern boundaries reached to the Hyperborean or Frozen Sea, called also by the ancients, the Scythian Sea, the Cronian, Amalchian, or Almachian, the Dead Sea, and by some other names equally expressive of extreme cold and ice. On the east, they are supposed to have extended to the promontory of Tabis; and to have been bounded by the Cassian mountains, which parted Scythia from the kingdom of Seres, now Cathai, or Northern China; and even this last was by some of the ancients taken for part of Eastern Scythia; so that on that side it had no other boundaries, according to Ptolemy, than the unknown tracts beyond it, and on the south it was bounded by the Eoum or Indian Sea, and by Mount Caucasus, and the Caspian ^z.

Northern and Southern Scythia.

As to the more northern parts of Scythia, its extreme coldness rendered it uninhabitable, by any but wolves, and other wild beasts; and this is probably the reason why they seem to have been unknown to the ancients beyond the 50th degree north. All that reached farther was called Terra Incognita; and their notion of its being surrounded by the Hyperborean, or Northern Ocean, they seem rather to have had from conjecture, than from experience.

^v Herodot. lib. iv. ^z Ptolm. ubi supra. Mela, lib. i. cap. 2, 3, 4. Cellar. Cluver, Well. & al.

rience. But the southern regions, with which they were better acquainted, they divided into three parts, namely, Scythia within, and Scythia without, or beyond Imaus, and Sarmatia, which lay between the former and the European Scythia, which was either a branch of the Scythian nation, or had been by some means so blended with it, that it differed in little or nothing from it except the name. Accordingly, Ptolemy bounds the Scythia on this side Imaus on the west, by the Asiatic Sarmatia on the east, by the Imaus above mentioned on the north, by the Terra Incognita on the south, and south-east by the country of the Sacks, Sogdiana, and Margiana. The most considerable mountains he reckons in this part are the Alaini Rhymmici, the Noroffus, the Aspifii, Tapurini, Sybees, and Anarei. The nations which inhabited it, according to the same ancient geographer, were, 1. The Alani Scythæ, 2. The Suobeni, 3. Alanorfi, 4. Scetiani, 5. Massæi, 6. Syebi, 7. Tectofages, 8. Rhobofei, 9. Afmani, 10. Paniardi, 11. Canodilpas, 12. Orgafi, 13. Erymi, 14. Afiotæ, 15. Aorfi, 16. Jaxartæ, 17. Mologeni, 18. Samnitæ, 19. Coraxi, 20. Zaratæ, 21. Sazonæ, 22. Tybiacæ, 23. Tabieni, 24. Jastæ, 25. Marchetegi, 26. Norosbes, 27. Noroffi, 28. Cachagæ-Scythæ, 29. Aspafii, or Aspifii-Scythæ, 30. Galactophagi, 31. Tapurei, 32. Anarici, 33. Afiotamæ, 34. Ariacæ, 35. Namaftæ, 36. Sogaranæ, and 37. Rhibii, among all which he mentions but one city, viz. that of Davaba.

The Scythia beyond Imaus, according to the same geographer, contained only the seven following nations or countries, viz. 1. The Abii-Scythæ, 2. Hyppophagi-Scythæ, 3. Auzacitis-Regio, 4. Casia-Regio, 5. Chatæ-Scythæ, 6. Achuffa-Regio, and 7. Chauranæi-Scythæ; and to this part he allots the four following cities, 1. Auzacia, 2. Ifsedon Scythica, 3. Chaurana, and 4. Soeta. Mela gives the Scythians much the same extent and boundaries. As for the Scythia-Pontica, since called Mœsia by the Greeks, it doth not properly belong to this article.

The Asiatic Scythia therefore, comprehended in general Great Tartary and Russia in Asia, and in particular the Scythia beyond, or without Imaus, contained the regions of Bogdoi, or Ostiacoi, and Tanguti. That within, or on this side Imaus, had Turkestan and Mongal, the Ufbak, or Zagatai, Kalmuc and Nagaian Tartars, besides Siberia, the land of the Samoiedes, and Nova Zembla. These

*Asiatic
Scythia*

three last mentioned countries not being so soon inhabited as the former, as may be reasonably supposed, were wholly unknown to the ancients, and the former were peopled by the Bactrians, Sogdians, Gandari, Sacks, and Massagetes. As for Sarmatia, it contained Albania, Iberia, and Colchis, which now constitute the Circassian Tartary, and the province of Georgia.

*Seas,
rivers, &c.*

Other seas, besides the Frozen and Indian Ocean, were the Caspian, and the Euxine, or Black Sea, and the Palus Mæotis. Mountains of note were Taurus, Imaus, and Caucasus: the first, beginning in the province of Asia Minor, called Pamphilia, runs eastward through Asia, and divides it into two parts, the Northern and Southern. The second lies in Scythia, or the Greater Tartary; and the third between the Caspian and the Euxine Sea². Its rivers, besides those we have occasionally mentioned, namely, the Rha or Volga, and Tanais or Don, are the Oby, Lena, Amur, and Helum; the latter of which is supposed to be the Quentung or Shengal; all these are in Great Tartary. To these we may add the Jaxartes, now Jacick, and the Oxus; these empty themselves into the Caspian Sea; in this sea there were likewise some islands; not distinguished by any particular names, but commonly called by that of the Scythian Islands.

*European
Scythia.*

Scythia in Europe, whose confines we have already fixed eastward from the Tanais, reached towards the south-west to the Po and the Alps, by which it was divided from the Celtes, or Celto-Gallia, and by the Rhine northward. It was bounded on the south by the Ister, or Danube, and the Euxine Sea. But, with regard to those points, they must be supposed to have been in a constant fluctuation, the Celtes and Scythians being ever encroaching upon each other, whenever they had power and opportunity. As to its northern limits, though it is not easy to guess at them, they have been supposed to stretch to the spring heads of the Borysthenes or Nieper, and the Rha or Volga, and so to that of the Tanais.

*Other divisions of
it.*

The ancients divided this country into Scythia Arimæpæa, which lay eastward, joining to Scythia in Asia, and Sarmatia Europæa, on the west; these two were contiguous to each other, and stretched some length from north to south, but what divided them asunder is not easy to discover. In Scythia, properly so called, were the Ari-

² Geogr. lib. vi. cap. 14. Vide & Wells, ubi supra, cap. xii.
³ Vide Mel. lib. iii. cap. 1. Culver, Cellar. & al.

maspæi on the north ; the Gettæ, or Dacians, along the Danube, on the south ; and the Neuri between those two. So that it contained the European Russia, or Muscovy, and the Lesser Crim Tartary eastward, and on the west Lithuania, Poland, part of Hungary, Transylvania, Valachia, Bulgaria, and Moldavia. Sarmatia is supposed to have reached northward to that part of Swedeland called Fennigia, now Finland, in which they placed the Oœnes, Panoti, and Hippopodes (N) : this part they divided from Northern Germany, now the west part of Sweden and Norway, by the Mare Sarmaticum, or Scythicum, which they supposed run up into the Northern Ocean, and dividing Lapland into two parts, made the western parts of Sweden, with Norway, into an island, and Finland into another ; supposing this also to be cut off from the continent, by the gulf of that name.

This Scythia had no other sea than the Sarmatian mentioned before, now called the Baltic, with the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland, and the White Sea joining to the Northern Ocean, all unknown to the ancients, if we except the Euxine and Palus Mæotis, which bounded it on the south. Lakes of any consideration we find not, except those of Ladoga and Onega, in Finland, which were

*Its seas,
rivers, &c.*

(N) These Oœnians were so called, for living mostly upon the eggs of their sea-fowl, which they eat with oatencakes. The Hippopodes were supposed to be so called from their having feet like horses, or from their going barefoot, and hardening their feet like horses' hoofs. The Panoti were so called from the largeness of their ears, which were such, that they could cover their whole body with them instead of other raiment. Some other monstrous people and creatures are also mentioned by Herodotus : of the first sort are the Arimaspeans, so called from the Scythian arima, *one*, and Spon, *eye*: not because they had but one eye, as was ab-

surdly believed by some of the ancients, but rather, as Borchart justly conjectures, because they were such excellent archers, at which exercise it is necessary to shut one eye, that the nick-name of one-eyed was given them upon that account. To these we may add the mountaineers, who are affirmed to have been bald from their infancy ; and another sort, which had goat's feet, not unlike the fabulous satyrs, besides some monstrous animals, among which were reckoned the griffins, who digged up, and guarded the golden ore, or dust, all which fables shew how little was known of those regions at that time (1).

(1) Herodot. lib. iv.

therefore

therefore unknown to the ancient Sarmatians. Their chief rivers were on the south, the Donetz or Little Tanais, Boristhenes or Nieper, Bog, Tyras or Niefler, and the Ister or Danube, all which emptied themselves into the Euxine; and on the north-east, the Great and Little Dwinnna, which empty themselves, the first into the White Sea, and the other into the Gulf of Finland, and therefore not known to the ancients; and the Vistula on the west, which runs into the Scythian Sea, and divided Sarmatia from Germany.

*Extent of
both Scy-
thians.*

The whole extent therefore of both Scythias, including the two Sarmatias, reached in longitude from the 20th to the 85th degree, or even beyond, and from the Alps to the Promontory of Tabis, and Streight of Anian; and in latitude, from Caucasus to the arctic circle, above 28 degrees. Herodotus indeed tells us, that the Hyperboreans were not of Scythian race, but another kind of people, one sort of which were Androphagi, or *men-eaters*, fierce and cruel; and another, namely, the Baldheads, or Argrippeans, a wise and peaceable people, esteemed sacred by all their neighbours^b; but he speaks of all those remote nations only by report, and with such diffidence, that he rather confirms what we said before, that those regions were most likely unknown, if not uninhabited.

Cities we find none in either Scythia, except the five lately mentioned out of Ptolemy, and these seem to have been built at least some time since Herodotus, who doth not so much as speak of even any metropolis, though he takes notice of a considerable branch of Scythians, called Royal Scythians, whom he places along the banks of the Tanais, which river divides them, he says, from the Asiatic Sarmatians^c.

S E C T. VI.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Learning, Arts, and Trades of the Ancient Scythians.

*Govern-
ment,*

ALL that has been met with concerning the antiquity of this nation, has been already mentioned in the first section of this chapter. How soon they began to settle themselves into a regular government, is as impossible to guess, as of what kind it was. It appears, however, from

^b Lib. x. p. 356. & seq. Littlebur. edit. 2. vid. & Mell. lib. iii. cap. 9.

^c Herod. p. 372.

what

what we have already hinted out of Herodotus, that one or two tribes at least, that is, the royal and free Scythians, were under a kind of monarchy, and that these two made a much greater figure than all the rest.

Herodotus tells us, that in process of time, when the Scythians were like to be invaded by Darius, the king finding himself unable to make head against the invader, invited all the Scythian princes, namely, those of the Taurians, Agathirians, Neurians, Androphages, Melanchlænians, Budians, and Sarmatians, to come to his assistance: all these seem to have been different branches of the same flock, but by this time they differed much in their manners and customs. The result of this summons was, that the three last named nations joined with the king of Scythia, but the others refused to assist him, under pretence that he was the first aggressor. Hence we conclude, that they had shaken off the yoke of the royal Scythians some considerable time before. We shall speak more particularly of these eight tribes or nations in another place; at present we confine ourselves to the royal and free Scythians, as being the most considerable, and the best known.

What their laws were, we can only guess from the excellent character that is given of that nation by ancient historians. Such indeed seem to have been their justice, temperance, contempt of riches and luxury, and so simple and primitive their way of living, that they could not stand in need of a great number of laws. Justin^d sums up their character in words to this effect: The Scythians were a nation, which, though inured to labour, fierce in war, and of prodigious strength, yet could so well master their affections, that they made no other use of their victories, than to increase their fame. Theft among them was reckoned so great a crime, and was so severely punished, that they could let their numerous flocks wander from place to place without danger of losing them. These they esteemed their greatest wealth, living upon their milk, and cloathing themselves with their skins. Instead of houses, they used to convey their wives and children about in covered waggons, drawn either by horses or oxen, and made capacious enough to carry all their other furniture. Gold, silver, diamonds, pearls, and other costly stones, were as much despised by them, as they were esteemed by other nations, so that they could not covet that which was of no use. What is still more wonderful, those virtues which

Laws.

Justice.

*Contempt of
wealth.*

^d Lib. ii. cap. 2.

the Greeks in vain endeavoured to attain by learning and philosophy, were natural to them, and they reaped those advantages from their ignorance of vice, which the others could not derive from their knowledge of virtue. A nation of this character and way of life could therefore want but few laws to secure their property; some others they had with relation to religion, customs, and polity, which forbade, under pain of death, any alteration in either; which excluded their women from the benefit of marriage, and every man from assisting at their royal feast, till he had killed an enemy. Some other of their laws we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel. Upon the whole, what appears of them seems wholly calculated to prevent luxury, fraud, and covetousness, and to cherish that martial spirit, for which they are so justly famed in history.

*Some tribes
of a differ-
ent cha-
racter.*

Some of the Scythian tribes, indeed, bear a quite different character, being represented of such fierce and cruel disposition, as even to eat the flesh of their enemies. Those, if under the same government, were at such great distance from the center of it, as to be out of the reach of its laws. As the inclemency of the air in these remote regions might probably incline them to cruelty; so the distance and barrenness of their country might make them less heeded, and probably more incapable of being restrained by the common regulations of society. However, it must be owned, with respect to the warlike temper even of the true Scythians, that it was not without a mixture of cruelty, if they have not been wilfully misrepresented by the Greek historians.

*Royal
power.*

If we may reason from some successions we find mentioned in history, it seems their crown was hereditary, and yet their kings not so despotic as not to be deposed, or even put to death, for the violation of their laws.

When any of their monarchs fell sick, it was their constant custom to send immediately for three of their most famous prophets (O), who commonly told him that some Scythian,

(O) These were a kind of pretended conjurers, who consulted certain omens, and divined, or made a shew of divining, by willow sticks, gathered up in bundles, which they loosened and spread upon the ground, and then taking and bundling them up again, uttered all the while certain magical incantations. It was by this art that they pretended to dive into hidden causes, and to pry into futurity. The Scythians seem to have been very much addicted to this kind of superstition, by the great number of those diviners, which

Scythian, whom they named, had perjured himself by swearing by the royal throne, which it seems was their most solemn oath. The accused person was thereupon seized, and brought before the king. If he denied the fact, more prophets were sent for; if they confirmed the evidence, the man was immediately beheaded, and his goods were divided among the three first accusers. But, if they acquitted him, a new supply of them was to be sent for; and, if the majority of them did absolve him, then the first accusers were tied hand and feet, and set in a cart loaded with faggots, and drawn by oxen: after they had stopt the false prophet's mouth, as he was then styled, they set fire to the wood, which consumed the cart and man, and seldom failed burning the oxen to death. Our author adds, that the male children of those whom the king condemned to death seldom escaped the same fate*.

A superstitious custom of their monarchs.

Another instance of their great respect to their monarchs is the pompous solemnity of their funerals, which was performed as follows: the embalmers received the body covered with wax, they opened and cleansed the belly, and having filled it with bruised cypress, incense, parsley, and anise-seeds, they sewed it up again, and placed the corpse in a chariot, and conveyed it from one tribe to another through all the provinces of the kingdom. Every province, where they received the funeral procession, was obliged to imitate the royal Scythians in their mournful ceremonies, which consisted in cutting off one part of the ear, shaving the head, and piercing the left hand with an arrow; in this guise, they accompanied the hearse to the next province,

* Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 68—70.

which they had amongst them. Nor was this trade confined to the men; the women had much the larger share of it; and as they did not pretend to prognosticate by means of those wands, or any other conjuring tricks, but rather by an immediate inspiration from some of their deities, they were held in the greatest veneration, and their oracles were received as the infallible answers or com-

mands of the gods (1). Pliny tells us of another sort of them, whom he calls Bithyæ, who had the power of killing by bare intuition (2). But, in general, all the old women were held in great reverence among the Scythians, and other northern nations, and were supposed to have acquired more or less of the prophetic spirit, according to their age.

(1) Vid. Keyser Antiq. Septentr. Dissert. v. cap. 2.

(2) Lib. viii.

till it reached that of the Gerrians, which was the remotest in the kingdom, situate along that part of the Borysthenes, where it begins to be navigable. Here the corpse was deposited in a large square hole made in the earth, upon a bed encompassed round with spears, which they covered with timber; and spread a canopy over the whole monument. In the vacant places of it, they deposited one of his favourite concubines, his head cook, groom, a waiter, a messenger, some horses, all strangled, and a number of necessary utensils, and among others some golden cups. Then they threw the earth upon it, so as to raise a high mound, or artificial mountain. As soon as the year was expired they chose fifty young men of the king's officers, who were always to be Scythians of quality. These, with an equal number of horses, were strangled, their bowels were taken out, and their bellies stuffed with straw. The bodies of the men were set astride upon the horses, and fastened to them by an iron stake. The horses, thus mounted, were set upon semicircular boards, supported by four pieces of timber, and placed at a convenient distance from each other round the monument, the horses having a loose rein fastened to another post set up for that purpose ^f.

Religion.

The Scythians worshipped a plurality of gods and goddesses, but that which they reckoned their principal deity was Vesta, whom they called Tabiti. The two next in veneration were Jupiter, whom they called Papeus, and Apia, or *the Earth*, which they esteemed his wife. Jupiter, it seems, they challenged for their progenitor, and Vesta for their queen, as appears by the answer which one of their kings sent to Darius, when he came to subdue them to his empire ^g; besides these, they worshipped Apollo, the celestial Venus, and Neptune, under the names Oetofyrus, Strippasa, and Thamimasades. But their favourite deity seems to have been the god of war, to whom alone they dedicated temples, altars, and images. How his temples were built, Herodotus doth not tell us; neither is it easy for us to guess. It doth not even appear from any ancient authors, or other monuments, that ever they built any properly so called. Groves, indeed, they were famous for erecting to this deity. In these they affected to have one or more oaks of a mighty size, which were accounted so sacred, that to lop so much as a branch or sprig, or even to wound the bark, was accounted sa-

Deities.**Mars.**^f Herodot. *ibid.* cap. 71—73.^g *Id. ibid.* cap. 59.

crilege, and punished with death. These oaks they never failed to sprinkle plentifully with the blood of their victims; inasmuch, that the rind of some of the oldest of them was covered or even encrusted with it^b. We are therefore inclined to believe, that Herodotus, who learned these things by report, might, for want of a good interpreter, mistake them for temples, and suppose them to be built like those of other nations.

Besides the deities above named, we are told that some of them worshipped fire as the principle of all things, and gave it the name of Vulcanⁱ: they used to swear by the wind, and the sword^k, the one as the author of life, and the other of death. They likewise looked upon Zamolzis as a deity, to whom they committed the souls of the dead, and offered sacrifices on their behalf^l. The royal Scythians are affirmed by Herodotus to have acknowledged all the deities above named; and to have offered sacrifices to Neptune in particular; for all these various deities they had not, indeed, temples, but altars and groves, and a set of priests appropriated to each.

How spacious those groves must have been, may be seen in the last quoted antiquarian, or be guessed at by the vast extent of the altars, which Herodotus tells us they erected in them to Mars, their favourite deity, one of which at least they were obliged to have in every district. It was made of small wood tied up into bundles, and covered three stadia of land in length and breadth, though it was not proportionable in its height. The top of it, which was quadrangular, had three sides perpendicular; and the fourth had a gradual declivity, to render the top of it easy of access. One hundred and fifty loads of faggots were to be brought yearly to each altar, to supply those which had been decayed by the inclemency of the winter. On the top of each of those heaps was erected an old iron scimitar, which stood there as the image, or rather emblem of the deity. To him, besides all other cattle, in common with their other gods, and in much greater number, they sacrificed horses; and what was more shocking, every hundredth man they took prisoner from their enemies. The priest having poured a libation of wine upon the captive's head, cut his throat, and received his blood into a bowl, with which ascending to the top of the altar, he washed the deity's sword. As to the victim, they only

Altars.

Human sacrifices.

^b Vide Keysser. Antiq. Septentr. Dis. iii. & alib. pass. ⁱ Clem. Alex. Adhort. ad Gent. ^k Lucian Toxar. ^l Idem Scyth.

cut off his right arm close to the shoulder, and throwing it up into the air, left it exposed in the place where it fell, and the rest of the body in that where it was killed^m.

Other victims.

With respect to the other victims, which they sacrificed either to Mars or to any other deity, they observed the same rites every where, without variation; they brought the beast having its fore-feet tied with a cord, and he who officiated as priest coming behind, and taking hold of the cord, threw the victim down. Whilst it was falling, he called upon the deity to whom it was offered, and then strangled it with a cord, which he twisted with a stick; as soon as it was dead, he set about flaying and dressing it, without any previous libation or ceremony. The flesh was put into pots, and whenever these were not ready at hand, into the paunch of the creature, mixing with it a proportionable quantity of water; and if wood could not be had, they burnt the bones instead of it. When the flesh was sufficiently boiled, the priest made an offering of part of the meat and intestines to the deity, by throwing it before the altar, and the rest was reserved to feast the priest and the votaries. Thus, in cases of necessity, as when they went out to war, they made the victim furnish them with all things necessary for the sacrifice. Of all beasts the horse was esteemed the noblest, and consequently the most acceptable victim. As for swine, they detested them, not only as unfit to eat, but would not even suffer them to live among them. They also offered to their gods the first-fruits of the earth, the firstlings of their cattle, and a part of the spoil they took in war: a considerable part of the latter they were wont to send to the Delphic Apollo, by a number of their honourable virgins, under a sufficient escort. But the length and difficulty of the way, and the dangers, and other obstacles of the journey, obliged them to discontinue this practice.

Contracts.

Their alliances and contracts were ratified with the following ceremonies: they poured some wine into an earthen vessel, into which the contracting parties were to mingle some of their own blood, which they drew by a slight incision made in the finger, hand, or some other part of the body. They then dipped into the mixture the point of some warlike weapons, such as a scimitar, arrow, dart, javelin, or battle-ax. The parties then ut-

^m Herodot. *ibid.* cap. 62.

tered some dire imprecations on the first breaker of the covenant, and, having each of them taken a draught of the liquor, they desired some of the most considerable among the by-standers, to pledge them, and to be witnesses of the contract, which was reckoned so sacred, that they thought no punishment severe enough, either in this life or in the next, for those by whom it should be violated ^a.

Their warlike temper and exploits were sufficiently *Valour.* known to the ancients; scarce is there any nation to be met with in history so famous for conquering wherever they carried their arms, even as auxiliaries, and themselves remaining still unconquered. Their frugal and simple manner of life may indeed be supposed to have been a great preservative against such invasions, as other more opulent and luxurious nations were exposed to. But it is plain, this was not always the case, since we find they were once invaded by the king of Persia at the head of a most puissant army, from the power of which nothing but their valour and policy could have delivered them. Upon the whole, such was their strength and courage, whenever they entered into an offensive or defensive war, that, as Thucydides himself tells us, no nation either in Europe or Asia could equal them either for strength, valour, or conduct; nor could any thing resist their power, when they were unanimous among themselves ^o.

Such care they took to cultivate this martial genius, that even their women were inured to it betimes, insomuch that no woman could be admitted into matrimony till she had killed at least one enemy with her own hands ^p. As for their youth, they were not without considerable encouragements to inspire them with martial valour, or rather ferocity, if we may rely upon the information of Herodotus, who tells us that they were wont to drink the blood of the first prisoner they took, and to present the heads of all the men they killed in fight to their monarch; these were either returned or registered, and the warrior enjoyed privileges in proportion to the numbers he had slain. They used to take the skins of the slain, to stretch, dry, and tan them, and then hang them at their horses bridles, where they served both for trophies and napkins to the owner; he being always most esteemed, who had the greatest number to display. Their pride, or rather barbarity, went so far,

Cruel customs.

^a Herodot. *ibid.* cap. 70.
^p Herodot. *ubi supra*, cap. 117.
Justin. & al.

^o Lib. ii. sect. 97.

Plat. *Deleg.* lib. vii. Hypocrat.

that they took off and dressed the whole skin of the slain, and covered both their quivers and horses, and sometimes decked their own bodies with them; and used their skulls for drinking cups.

Had they only exercised this kind of savage pride against those who came to invade them, it might indeed admit of some excuse; but it doth not appear that they gave much better quarter to those whose territories they invaded. And it would have been cruel and impolitic in them to have condemned their young women to celibacy, till they were able to produce some such trophies of their martial prowess, if they were not to be gained in any but a defensive war, which their poverty, joined to their known valour, will not permit us to suppose to have been frequent enough for that end. It is then more likely, that as they are affirmed to have lived mostly upon plunder, instead of going out of their own territories, they made mutual incursions, one tribe against another, without forgetting however their affinity so far, as not to join their forces occasionally against a common enemy or invader.

In consequence of their living free from ambition and care, and eating plentifully of animal food, they acquired ruddy complexions, and became so plump and sanguine, that, to prevent their growing too unwieldy, they not only used a great deal of exercise, but even cauterized their arms, shoulders, backs, and breasts, with a view to draw off superfluous moisture. They were remarkable for their fidelity and friendship, which they esteemed and gloried in above all things. They commonly confirmed their friendship by some such religious ceremony or oath as we have lately mentioned, but a Scythian seldom diffused his attachments to more than two or three individuals, esteeming it very difficult, if not impossible, to keep it inviolate with a greater number. And when such a friendship was once contracted, there was no danger or death which they would not expose themselves to for one another.

They were not more disposed to friendship, than addicted to resentment and revenge. If a man had received an injury which he was not in a capacity to retaliate, the custom was for him to sacrifice a bullock, and to roast the flesh of it in small pieces. Then he spread the hide upon the ground, and sat upon it, holding his hands down behind him as if they had been tied; upon which signal, all that beheld him, whether friends, relations, or strangers, came to inform themselves about the injury and injurer, and

and if they favoured his cause, took up a piece of the meat, setting their feet upon the hide at the same time, promising assistance accordingly, one, perhaps, sent him five men and horses; another ten, more or less, according to their circumstances, or the nature of the injury^q.

How populous the Scythians were, we have not been able to discover. If it be allowed that they made frequent and bloody inroads one upon another, we cannot but suppose that it must have lessened their numbers exceedingly. On the other hand, if we consider their plain and laborious way of living, their climate, constant exercise, and other advantageous circumstances, which rendered them hardy and strong, prolific and long lived, we can hardly conceive they could be other than a populous nation: for we are told that very few died of sickness, but that in general they lived to a good old age, inasmuch that many of them being weary of the world, before death took them out of it, it was usual with such to hasten their exit by throwing themselves from an eminence into the sea, or into some river^r. Herodotus, however, who seems in doubt whether they were so populous as some, or so thin as others represent them, gives us an authentic instance and monument in favour of the former, which is as follows: they had it seems a custom, not uncommon to other nations, at their first taking of the field to muster their fighting men, and to make every man cast an arrow into a proper receptacle, which at their return from the expedition was again taken up. By this expedient they could easily compute not only the number of their men, but also that of their slain, or of those who either deserted, or absented themselves from the war. It was at some such muster as this that one of their kings, whom Herodotus names Ariantes^s, being present, and observing these heads of arrows to amount to an immense bulk and weight, as he had indeed a prodigious army under him, ordered them to be melted and cast, and made a large capacious vessel, which our author tells us was still extant in his time; and, though full six inches thick, was large enough to hold six hundred amphoras, that is about fifty hogheads, and remained a monument of this prodigious army. What seems to be a stronger argument for their being populous, is, the succession of colonies which they sent out, chiefly towards the southern parts of

^q Lucian. Toxar.
iv. cap. 81.

^r Mela, lib. iii. cap. 5.

^s Lib.

the world, of which we shall have further occasion to speak in the sequel.

*Arts and
sciences.*

As they cultivated no arts nor sciences except that of war, nor scarcely any trade or commerce except pasturage, the reader must not expect much information on these heads. Thucydides seems indeed to commend their industry and sagacity in procuring all things necessary for life, in such a manner, as would incline one to believe them to have been great encouragers of industry and manufacture; and another Greek author speaks much of the trade and commerce which they carried on with all the sea-coasts of the Hellespont[†]. But as to the latter, we are much inclined to believe, that, like some of his predecessors, he has mistook them for the Celtes, who were become great merchants, both by sea and land, under their king Mercury. As for the Scythians, their way of living was altogether incompatible with commerce. They do not so much as seem to have known any thing of writing, till they brought it with them from Asia, after their twenty-eight years invasion of that country; neither do we find any footsteps of their having had such poetic historians as were the curetes among the Celtes, or the bards and druids among the Gauls. Herodotus, who has wrote so much concerning them, doth not so much as hint his having received his intelligence from any of their records, but barely from tradition; and that is one reason why we omit many fabulous circumstances which he has related of them, from the common report of their neighbours, who in all probability were neither well informed, nor impartial.

Language.

Their language is still more unknown to us, whatever discoveries some modern antiquarians may fancy to have made about it. The vast extent of their territories, together with their intermingling with other nations, could not but occasion its being split into a vast number of dialects, from which most probably have sprung the Muscovitish, Sclavonic, Polish, Danish, Swedish, Saxon, and many others; between which, one can but barely discover affinity enough to evince their origin from the same mother. A great number of words and phrases that are found not only in those northern languages, but also in the Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Persian, shew them to have been so many dialects of the old Celtic; if those few relics of the Scythian which we have left in the names

[†] Dictys Cret. de Bell. Troj. lib. ii. cap. 8.

of their kings, tribes, and districts, do not so plainly appear to be of the same extraction, we must remember they have past through so many different hands, and have so often changed their dress, especially among the Greeks, that they may be easily supposed to have quite lost their ancient form. We may add, that some of them are perfectly Greek, or translated from the Scythian into that language (P).

Their chief manufactures seem to have consisted mostly in building waggons for their families and baggage, which being covered with the skins of beasts, they must have had some notion of tanning and dressing leather. We may likewise reasonably suppose that they fabricated their own weapons, which were scimiters, javelins, axes, but especially bows and arrows, at which they are said to have been so expert, that their very children were trained to shoot at a mark even as they rode on horseback; inso-much that it became a common proverb, "that the Scythians were as dextrous at their bows as the Greeks were at their lyre." Hence Cyaxares, king of Media, is reported to have sent his son to be brought up under them, to learn the use of the bow*. They were so expert in horsemanship, as to have acquired the epithet of ἵπποεξοίαι by Herodotus and Lucian. Their women are affirmed to have been so well trained to riding and shooting, that they did not fall short of the men in those exercises*. The ancients observe, that they had neither mules nor asses; and the reason they give is, that the country was too cold for those creatures. Experience has since shewn the contrary, at least with respect to the latter; but the true reason seems to be, that the horses, which they bred in great numbers, could answer all the purposes of the other two species, and at the same time be more swift and expeditious.

As for agriculture, it doth not appear that they had any. Herodotus indeed tells us of one province, whose inhabitants called themselves Olbiopolitans, and the Greeks Borysthenians, as they lived on the north side of that

* Herodot. lib. i. cap. 73.

* Lucian. in Toxar. & Her-
mot. Mela, lib. i. cap. 21. Bochart, ubi supra, & al.

(P) Of this kind is the name Greek word. The Nomades of the Oænes, a Scythian tribe, were so called from *nomos* pasture. Of the same extraction so called in Herodotus, from their living upon the eggs of wild-fowl, and comes from the

river; and these he likewise called husbandmen, because they sowed grain, not for food, but for sale ¹. But the rest of the Scythians wholly neglected it, chusing rather to roam where they found the best pasture for their cattle, and contenting themselves with the spontaneous product of the earth, without being at the trouble of manuring it. And this is in all likelihood the cause why we read of so many deserts, forests, and large uninhabited tracts of land between tribe and tribe, in the writings of ancient historians and geographers. How they disposed of the wool of their flocks we know not, but, by their cloathing themselves with the skins of wild or tame beasts ², we may conclude they did not manufacture it into cloth; and as those skins were of their own dressing, they wanted still less the help of foreign manufactures. Smiths they must have had, for making their arms, waggons, and other necessary tools. As to their arrows, darts, and javelins, if their heads were made of copper, they were probably cast in moulds. They used standards of a particular make, which when blown open by the wind, exhibited the figures of serpents and dragons of several shapes, and these were commonly borne by men on horseback ³.

Artificers.

Their chief riches and food consisting in their numerous herds; they intrusted the care of them to shepherds, who were a lower rank of Scythians below the martial men, though they too had slaves and captives in their service. They used to move from pasture to pasture, with the persons and families which were unfit to go to the wars. These chiefly lived upon honey, cheese, and milk, more especially that of their mares, from which creature, if Herodotus was rightly informed, they had a strange way of forcing plenty of it, by blowing wind into the privities ^b; but their chief and choicest food was the venison they killed. What provisions the warlike Scythians made, when they were absent from their flocks, we cannot guess; it is probable when they came into an enemy's country, they seized upon all the cattle they could meet with; and when that failed, they had recourse to a composition they carried about them, of which we shall speak bye-and-bye.

Polygamy.

From an instance or two recorded of their kings, we conclude they allowed of polygamy, and were not over-strict in their marriages. Plato seems even to intimate

¹ Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 18. Justin. lib. ii. cap. 2. Mela, & al. ² Id. ibid. ³ Suid. in voc. ^b Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 2.

that they had their women in common, though if any such custom prevailed among them, it must have been only among the more savage sort, for the royal and free men had wives; and some of their kings we read of who took them from other nations, and of one of them who married his own father's widow; but whether the same liberty was allowed to private men we cannot affirm. The reason the Scythians gave for abhorring the Bacchanalian feasts of the Greeks, namely, that it was absurd to suppose that a god should drive men into all the violent transports of madness, seems to shew that drunkenness was not common among them^c. And indeed we do not find that they were much addicted to feasting. Plutarch, in his Banquet of the Seven Wise Men, says, "that they neither had vines, nor players on instruments, nor public games. One wine-feast they kept however, once a year in every district, for those who had signalized themselves by killing one or more of their enemies. Another we read of, which was used at funerals. Some others they might have upon other occasions not worth enquiring after; but in general they were remarkably abstemious, except in their affections for their favourite women. They talked little, but concisely and nervously, especially about their warlike affairs. They commonly travelled on horseback, or in their domestic vehicles. When they had any rivers to cross, they laid their horse's saddle and weapons upon a skin filled with cork, and so well sewn, that not a drop of water could get into it; they then laid themselves down on it, and taking hold of their horse by the tail, made him swim to the other side. They carried with them a certain composition, in small pieces like pills, one of which, upon occasion, would yet afford, sufficient nourishment for several days. Pliny adds^d, that they used the like expedient with their horses, by means of what he calls the Scythian weed, upon the strength of which they could travel ten or twelve days without eating or drinking.

Feasting.

We shall conclude this article with some farther account of their funerals. We have already spoken of the obsequies which they paid to their monarchs. When any other person died, his nearest relations caused his embalmed body to be carried in a chariot from house to house among his friends and acquaintance, who received and feasted them in their turns, setting part of the banquet

Funeral obsequies.

^c Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 79.

^d Lib. xxv. cap. 8.

before

*How their
women
preserved
their beau-
ty.*

before the deceased. This ceremony was continued forty days, after which the person was buried, and his attendants purified themselves, not by any ablution, but by the smoke of some hemp-seed peculiar to the country, which being thrown upon burning stones, emitted a much more agreeable perfume than the frankincense used in Greece, and intoxicated the company, who concluded the ceremony with hideous shrieks. This served instead of washing, which the Scythians never practised; not even the women, who used, instead of it, to anoint their bodies and face with a paste, made of cypress, cedar, and frankincense, ground upon a rough stone, and soaked in water, which paste being taken off next day, rendered their skins clean, shining and sweet*.

It remains that we should say a word or two of those other petty kingdoms of Scythia, and of some particularities, wherein they differed from the royal Scythians. For whether they were all really descended from the same stock, or whether they sprang from some other of Magog's brethren, yet since they inhabited so considerable a part of Scythia, and made such a figure in the history of their wars in conjunction with the royal tribes, we cannot well omit, at least those of the greatest note.

Sarmatians.

The Samaritans are affirmed by Herodotus to have been the offspring of the Scythians and Amazons. These warlike women, or, as their Scythian name, Aior Patta, imports, *manslayers*, in their flight from the Grecians, having landed near the precipices of the Palus Mæotis belonging to the free Scythians, and having been persuaded to be married to them, did in their turn prevail upon them to leave that part of Scythia, where they pretended they could not conveniently live with them, and to pass into the province of Sarmatia on the other side the Tanais. Hence, our author says, the Samaritan women retained still the Amazonian temper and way of life, being more warlike than the rest of the Scythian females, and the language of the country became a corrupt Scythian, because the Amazons never could perfectly learn that language, but taught it their offspring, corrupt as themselves spoke it. Here it chiefly was, that a virgin was unqualified for matrimony till she had dispatched an enemy in the field.

Taurians.

The Taurians had this inhuman custom, that they sacrificed to a virgin all that were shipwrecked, and all the

* Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 73—75.

Grecians whom they caught upon their coasts. This bloody offering was performed by knocking the person on the head with a club, after many dire imprecations, and flinging his carcase down the hill on which their temple was built, or as others told our author, by burying the body, and reserving only the head to be stuck on a pole. These Taurians pretended, that the virgin dæmon whom they thus worshipped, was Iphigenia, Agamemnon's daughter. They lived chiefly by war and rapine, and were very cruel to those that fell into their hands. The Agathyrsians are said to have had their women in common, in order to link the men more strictly together, and to prevent jealousies, and other ill effects of matrimony^f. The Neurian province being infested with dangerous serpents, they were at length forced to leave it for that of the Budians. They observed the customs of Scythia in most particulars, only pretended to greater skill in magic than they, and were reported to be transformed into wolves for some part of the year, after which metamorphosis, they resumed their own shape^g; an allegory which is supposed to mean no more than their wearing of skins with the fur outward during the cold weather. The Neurians are mentioned also by Pliny^h, Melaⁱ, and Steph. of Byzantium^k.

Agathyrsians.

Neurians.

The worst of all, were the Androphagi, or men-eaters, who observed neither laws nor justice, and had nothing in common with the rest, but their dress and occupation of breeding cattle. The Melanchœneans were so called for affecting to go always in black; they followed the Scythian customs, except that they fed upon human flesh, which the free Scythians did not; nor indeed did any other tribes use it, at least as common food; but only on some particular occasions. The Budians were a populous nation, famed for blue eyes, and red hair: in this province, above all the rest, did they build them a city, and called it Gelonus, whose houses and high walls were of timber, and each side of the walls were three hundred stadia in length; it had temples and chapels dedicated to the Grecian gods; and here they celebrated the Bacchanalia triennially. The people of the province differed from those in the city, in that the former applied themselves to the keeping of cattle, and these to tillage and planting gar-

Budians or Androphagi.

Gelonians.

^f Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 104. ^g Id. ibid. cap. 105, & seq.
^h Pliny lib. iv. cap. 32. ⁱ De Situ. Orb. lib. ii. cap. 1. ^k De Urb. sub voc,

dens,

dens, living upon the product of them, and of their corn fields; in a word, these Gelonians were so much more civilized in their manners than the Budians, that they seemed quite another people. They are supposed to have been of Greek extract, and to have been in time quite blended with the Budians, who were of Sarmatian origin, and contiguous to them; and Herodotus observes, that each preserved their own native language. The Gelonians learned, among other things, the custom of painting their bodies from the Sarmatians, whence that verse in Virgil's *Georgics*, xii. ver. 115.

Etasque domos Arabum pictosque Gelonos.

This province abounded with otters, and beavers, which afforded skins for wearing, and castor for medicine¹.

*Scythian
Nomades.*

The last two nations or tribes of the Scythians worth our notice, were the Nomades, inhabiting the country on the north-west of the Caspian sea, and the Massagètes, on the west. As for the Amazons, as they are accounted somewhat fabulous, we shall speak of them in a separate note (Q). The Nomades differed so little from the royal Scythians,

¹ Herodot. lib. x. cap. 108, 109.

(Q) Concerning these female warriors, it were endless to trouble ourselves with all that has been written on either side; those seem to come nearest the truth, who neither altogether reject what has been said of them by the ancients, nor give credit to all the wonders that are recorded of them. If we compare the warlike genius of the Scythian women in general, and more particularly that of the Sarmatians, in whose neighbourhood lived these Amazons, with the occasion which gave birth to this strange kind of government, namely, the treacherous murder of their husbands, and their being in danger of becoming a prey to their murderers, and in a strange country; if we consider all these circum-

stances, there will be nothing so improbable in the brave and masculine method they took to save themselves from slavery, and to revenge the slaughter of their husbands. The Scythian as well as Celtic women were anciently held in great esteem and veneration, for their skill in divination above the men, insomuch that the latter are even upbraided by ancient authors, for suffering women to assist at and direct their counsels; and to have even presided in all courts of judicature, and other assemblies; in which their judgment was generally reckoned decisive, because they were supposed to be divinely inspired (1). Being therefore inured to counsel, execution, and warlike exploits, exasperated by the treacherous butch-

(1) Keyßer *Antiq. Septentr. Dissert.* v.

Scythians, except in this appellative, that we shall say no more concerning them, than that they led a wandering life,

ery of their husbands, and become, as it were, desperate at the prospect of their impending slavery; we need not wonder that they so soon fell upon the most effectual means of making a noble defence, and like so many heroines, having chosen one or two of the wisest and stoutest among them, to lead them to an offensive war against their enemies, they carried it on with such courage and constancy, and with such surprising success. And if their warlike temper, their government, customs, valour, conduct, and achievements, have been exaggerated beyond credibility, it is no more than hath been done with respect to other nations, governments, kingdoms, and conquerors, whom it were nevertheless absurd to treat as fabulous upon that account. It is certainly more equitable to make the same allowance in both cases, than to suppose that so many historians, who have written of either of them, were guilty of wilful forgery, or too great credulity (2).

This female government is said to have been produced by the following incident: two noble Scythian youths, whom our author calls Hylinos and Scolopytus (3), having been forced to yield to a contrary faction, about the time of the first irruptions of the Scythians into Asia, in the reign of Sesostris, king of Egypt, retired into part of Cappadocia, with their

wives and families. They brought with them also a very considerable number of warlike youths, by whose assistance they got possession of the region of Thermosciria, on the river Thermodon, from which they used to make frequent incursions into the neighbouring countries for several years, till they were at length all treacherously murdered by those nations. Their wives were no sooner apprised of their fate, than, partly through fear of slavery, and partly through desire of revenge, they put themselves under the conduct of some of their greatest heroines, and prepared for a bloody war against the murderers. That nothing might obstruct their fury, they renounced all future marriages with mankind, calling it an unworthy kind of slavery, and destroyed the residue of their husbands, who had escaped the slaughter, that so being all upon the same footing, they might pursue their designs with equal ardour. The consequence was, that they fell upon the conquerors with such bravery and success, that they totally overthrew them, enlarged their own dominions, and made their neighbours sue to them for peace. One of their conditions was, that they should yearly have a month's intercourse with each other, in order to keep up the breed; after which commutation they brought up all their girls

(2) Sir W. Rawl. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 2. sect. 15. (3) Justin. ex Trog. lib. ii. cap. 4.

life, living no longer in one place than they found plenty of pasture for their cattle; which being consumed, they removed

in their own way, cutting off their right breasts, that they might be no obstruction to their shooting, whence they came to be called Amazons; and as for the boys that were born to them, they either killed them, according to our author, or sent them to their fathers according to Herodotus.

These surprising exploits were achieved under the government and conduct of two famous queens, Lampedo or Lampeto, and Marthesia or Marpthesia, who boasted themselves to be the daughters of Mars; and having carried their conquests into Asia, and built some cities there, this last, who had been left with an army to secure their conquest, whilst the former returned home laden with spoils, was afterwards surprised, and cut off, with the rest of her female warriors, by some bands of barbarians.

She was succeeded by her daughter Ortara, or Orthya, whose valour, added to her living in perpetual virginity, did not a little raise the glory of the Amazonian name. To her succeeded Antiopha, whose sisters Hypolite and Menalippe, are reported to have challenged Hercules and Theseus, and to have been with great difficulty overcome by those two heroes. Penthesilea was another famous Amazonian queen, who is said to have come at the head of an army of her viragos to the assistance of Priamus, king of

Troy. It is added, that she was the inventress of the battle-axe, and was at length killed by Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles. Some other particulars related of those heroines favour so much of fable, that we shall dwell no longer upon them.

The bloody re-encounter between Tomyris, another of their warlike queens, and Cyrus king of Persia, has been taken notice of in another chapter; and the amorous interview between Alexander the Great and the famous queen Thalestris, shall be spoken of in its proper place. It is under this last that the Amazonian race and kingdom is said to have been destroyed.

We must not omit some other memorable occurrences concerning a colony of those female worthies, which happened in the reign of some of the foregoing queens, and are mentioned by another author in his history of the Scythians (4).

The Grecians, who had obtained a signal victory over the Amazons, near the river Thermodon, were carrying off the residue that had escaped the slaughter, in three ships, into their own country. While they were at sea the Amazons conspired against them, and killed all the men they had on board; but being altogether unacquainted with navigation, even with the use of the rudder, sails, and oars, they were driven by the wind and tide to the precipices of the Palus

(4) Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 107. 110.

removed to fresh grounds; and, when called to the wars, left their families and flocks, with their shepherds, till their

Mæotis, in the territories of the free Scythians. Here they went ashore, and marching up into the country seized the first horses they found, and began to plunder the inhabitants. The Scythians, unacquainted with their language, sex, and dress, could not tell what to make of these invaders. They took them at first to be youths, but, after a skirmish or two, in which some of them were taken prisoners, had convinced them of the contrary, they resolved not to kill them, but to send a party of youths to watch their motions, with orders, that if they were attacked by them, they should flee from them, and as soon as they ceased their pursuit, encamp at the nearest distance they could, resolved, if possible, to have some children by these brave women. These observing that the Scythian youths did not come with any hostile design, suffered them to continue in their neighbouring station, whilst they, having nothing but their horses and arms, lived in their own manner, by hunting and plunder. It was their custom to withdraw themselves from the rest about noon, either single or by couples, to comply with the necessities of nature, which, when the Scythian youths observed, they did so likewise: one of these walking alone met with a single Amazon, and though they could not speak to each other, yet she found a way to let him understand that

if he would meet her there next day, accompanied with another Scythian, she would like wise bring a companion with her. The consequence was, that both their camps were presently joined, and every Scythian took to wife the Amazon whom chance threw in his way. The women had no sooner got a smattering of the Scythian language, than they were given to understand by their new husbands, that they had their parents and possessions in that neighbourhood, to whom they had a desire to return, inviting the women to accompany them. But these replied, that as they had ever been used to draw the bow, dart a javelin, mount a horse, and all such warlike exercises, to which they supposed the Scythian women altogether unaccustomed, they could not bear the thoughts of going to live among them, and exchange their warlike way of living for a life of ease and indolence. They therefore exhorted their husbands, if they still retained the same conjugal affection for them, to go and receive their several portions of wealth from their parents, and return; an advice with which they readily complied. At their return their wives acquainted them farther, that since they had deprived them of their parents, and committed several depredations in that country, they thought it much safer to fix their habitation on the other side the Tanais. This
scheme

their return^m. Pliny places them on the left side of the Caspian sea, and says the river Panticapes parted them from the Georgiiⁿ. Strabo adds, that they lived in waggon instead of houses^o.

Massagettes.

The Massagettes likewise imitated the free Scythians in their habit, manner of living, arms, and warlike genius; but they used, besides bows and arrows, javelins, and scimeters. Brass served them instead of steel for making their offensive weapons, and their defensive armour was ornamented with gold. Their horses were likewise fenced with a breast-plate of brass, whilst their bridles and other furniture were adorned with gold; for silver and iron were not used by them, because their country did not produce these metals. Though every man was obliged to marry a wife, yet they held them all in common; so that when a man met with a woman to his liking, he took her into his chariot or waggon, and lay with her without any farther ceremony, than his hanging up his quiver at the head of it. This custom, Herodotus tells us, was unjustly attributed to all the Scythians by the Greeks, whereas it was peculiar to the Massagettes only. A more inhuman custom than this the same author tells us they followed, namely, that when a man had once attained to old age, which was not so much limited by law as inferred by concurring symptoms; all his relations met, and sacrificed him, together with a number of cattle of several kinds, and having boiled the flesh all together, they sat down to it as a feast. This kind of death was accounted by them the most happy, as that of dying by sickness was reckoned unfortunate, because these last were to be buried, instead of acquiring the honour of being sacrificed to their gods, and feasted upon by their nearest relations, and intimate friends^p. The sun was the only deity they worshipped, and to him they sacrificed horses, which being reckoned

Some barbarous customs.

^m Mela, lib. iii. cap. 6.

ⁿ Lib. iv. cap. 12.

^o Geogr.

lib. xvi.

^p Herodot. lib. i. cap. ult. & lib. iv. cap. 172.

scheme was likewise agreed to and executed. After three days march eastward of that river, and three more northward from the lake Mæotis, they arrived and settled in the country of Sarmatia, where they continued still in our author's time. Hence it is that the Sarmatian women were

reckoned by far the greatest warriors of all the Scythians; and hence proceeds the corruption of their language; for the Amazons not having been able to learn, and consequently to teach their children the true Scythic, the Sarmatian became a mixture of that and the Amazonic,

the

the noblest and swiftest of all creatures, they thought most proper to be offered to the noblest and swiftest of all the gods¹. They neither sowed nor planted; but contented themselves with the milk and flesh of their cattle, and with fish, of which the Jaxartes afforded a very great plenty¹.

S E C T. VII.

The History of the Scythian Kings.

WHAT has been observed in some of the foregoing sections concerning the barrenness of Scythian records, and of other historians concerning that nation, will easily convince our readers, that it would be a vain attempt to throw any light upon the chronology of it, or even to present a regular history of their kings, whose names and exploits lie occasionally scattered in Herodotus, and other more recent historians, without any order of time, at least till their invasion of Asia. Till then, it is probable, they confined their conquests to Europe, and made their incursions only against their neighbours, which, though perhaps originally descended from the same stock, yet, like a great many other nations, had either quite obliterated, or were become regardless of their former affinity. And this seems to have been most probably their case, because they cultivated no arts, but that of war and conquest, without troubling themselves about recording their acts and genealogies. The Celtes indeed had their curetes; and other European nations were provided with bards and druids, who celebrated their exploits in verse; but we do not find any footsteps of any such persons among the Scythians: so that tradition seems to have been the only fountain from which our ancient historians have drawn all their intelligence concerning that nation.

*Scythian
chronology
not to be
attained.*

The following is a list of the Scythian kings, as we find them mentioned by Herodotus, Justin, Diodorus, Strabo, and Mela; but without any note of time, either about the beginning, length, or end of their reigns; neither can we affirm, that they succeeded one another in the order we have observed, or even whether they all reigned over the same nations, or ruled as independent sovereigns of different tribes. However, we shall to the list of their names subjoin such particular facts as we find recorded of any of them, and with these we shall be forced to close this history.

¹ Herodot. lib. i. cap. ult.

¹ Mela, Cluver. & al.

Kings of Scythia.

1. Scythes.	9. Targitaus.	14. Saulius.
2. Napis.	10. Calaxais.	15. Spargapifes.
3. Phithra.	11. Scholypethes,	16. Aripithes.
4. Sagillus, or Protothyas.	or perhaps	17. Scyles.
5. Madyes.	rather	18. Octamafades.
6. Thomyris.	Scythopetes.	19. Ariantes.
7. Jancirus.	12. Panaxagoras.	20. Atheas.
8. Indatyrfus.	13. Tanais.	21. Lambinus.

Scythes.

Scythes is said to have been a son of Hercules, begotten on a monster, from whom the Scythian nation was affirmed by the fabulous Greeks to have taken their name, if not to be descended^a. This history seems to have been invented by the Greeks for no other end but to fully the origin of the noble and warlike Scythians.

Sagillus.

Sagillus is said to have sent his son Panaxagorus, who is perhaps the same with Protothyas, the father of Madyes, with an army of horse, to the assistance of Orithya, queen of the Amazons, against Theseus king of Athens. To persuade him to this expedition, she let him know that the Amazons were of Scythian race; that it was mere necessity that obliged them to dispatch their surviving husbands, and to erect themselves into a female monarchy, and to engage in this war. In a word, she used all the arguments which could induce the Scythian king to give her assistance; his son came accordingly with a large army of horse, but, soon after his arrival, upon some disgust which that prince took at these brave heroines, he left them to the mercy of their enemies, by whom they were defeated^t.

Madyes.

Madyes, supposed to have been the same with the Indatyrfus of Strabo, though different from that of Herodotus, was the son of Protothyas, a warlike prince, under whose conduct the Scythians, having driven the Cymmerians, or northern Celtes, out of Europe, and pursued them into Asia, invaded the country of the Medes, and held the greater part of Upper Asia in subjection twenty-eight years. The occasion of their quarrel with the Cymmerians, and of the Asiatic irruption, is, indeed, nowhere to be found, but may, however be easily conceived. Scythia did not afford sufficient food and sustenance for its numerous inhabitants; it was bounded on the north by a frozen region

^a Herodot. lib. iv.^t Justin. ex Trog. lib. ii. cap. 4.
and

and perpetual snow ; where could they then discharge their superfluous multitudes, but towards the more fertile countries of the south, where the inhabitants, being probably enervated by an easy and delicate life, were most like to yield them, if not their country, at least a free passage through it, and assist them with necessaries ; hence it is that they so rapidly passed into Asia, and led their victorious army even into Egypt. But here we are told they were prevailed upon by Psammeticus, king of that country, either by presents or entreaties, to proceed no farther. They made, likewise, some incursions into the land of the Philistines ; and it was in this expedition that they took the city of Bethshean from the half tribe of Manasseh, on this side Jordan, and called it by their name, the city of the Scythians, or Scythopolis. In their return into Syria some of their stragglers plundered the temple of Venus at Ascalon, and for their sacrilege were punished with a species of hæmorrhoids, common to the other sex ; which descended to their posterity as a brand of infamy.

They might probably have held their dominion in Asia much longer than they did, had not their indolence and exactions on the one hand, and the treachery of Cyaxares king of the Medes, on the other, put an end to it, in the manner we have related in that history. What became of those that survived the slaughter, we can only guess at ; many of them might submit themselves to the Medes, and continue there ; but a much greater number, as is supposed, entered into the service of Nebuchadnezzar part of whose army is said to have consisted of all the families of the north ; but the greatest part, according to Herodotus, returned to Scythia[▼], where they met with an unexpected reception from their servants and slaves. Justin, who calls this their third expedition, says, it lasted but eight years^{*}, during which time their wives, having given them over for lost, had married their servants and slaves ; to whom, as we have observed, their masters used, upon all such excursions, to commit the care of their families and cattle. As soon, therefore, as the Scythians had entered their own territories, this upstart race of slaves sent to forbid their masters to approach nearer at their peril.

But Herodotus, who speaks of this expedition as the first into Asia, and affirms it to have lasted twenty-eight years, adds, that their wives, unused to be so long idle, had taken their servants and slaves to their beds, from

▼ Herodot. lib. i.

* Lib. ii. cap. 5.

whom this new generation was sprung, which obstructed the return of their masters into Scythia, after they had suffered themselves to be driven out of their Asiatic conquests by the Medes. However that be, this slavish offspring, having timely notice of their return, had so well fortified and entrenched themselves against them, that they would, in all probability, have kept them out, had not some of the wiser Scythians bethought themselves of a stratagem which quite discomfited that rebellious rout.

They had already had several skirmishes with equal success on both sides, when one of the Scythian lords observed, that it was beneath their dignity to fight with their slaves as with their equals; and that, if they designed to force them into submission, they must fall upon them, not with warlike weapons, but with whips and scourges, such as they were formerly wont to chastise them with. This advice was followed with surprising success, and the slavish rebels were taken with such a panic at this new and unexpected kind of war, that they laid down their arms, and fled with the utmost precipitation. As many of them as could be caught were put to the most cruel deaths, whilst their mistresses, conscious of their guilt, sought to avoid the resentment of their husbands by putting themselves to death. After this signal victory over their rebellious slaves, the Scythians, according to Justin, enjoyed a long and unmolested peace till the days of Jancyrus. We must, however, except the invasion under the next reign.

Tomyris.

Thomyris, Tomyris, or Tamyris, was that heroine, whom we are told² Cyrus the Great demanded in marriage. But she supposing that her kingdom, rather than her person, was the object of his wishes, sent express orders to his ambassadors not to proceed. Cyrus, provoked either at her refusal, or at her suspecting his artifice, advanced with his army against the Massagetes, who were then under her dominion. What the issue of this expedition was, and what credit may be given to the story of his tragical end, and the revenge which that exasperated prince took of him, we have already seen in another chapter.

Jancyrus.

Jancyrus, a magnanimous and haughty prince, is famed for the noble answer which he sent to Darius king of Persia, when that monarch sent to demand of him the usual presents of earth and water in token of subjection, and for

¹ Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 3, 4.

² Idem lib. i. cap. 205, & seq.
the

the total defeat which he gave to the Persian army; and as such seems to have been the same with Herodotus's Indathyrus^a, or to have been his immediate successor. The occasion of this war with the Persians is variously related by Justin^b and the last quoted author; the former tells us, that the Scythian monarch had exasperated Darius by refusing to give him his daughter in marriage; and the latter introduces some Scythian princes accusing him of being the first aggressor, and having invaded the Persian territories, whilst Darius himself pretended only to revenge the ravages which the Scythians had committed in Asia a hundred and twenty years before, when they held it in subjection twenty-eight years. There is, therefore, no other way of reconciling these accounts, and the two different names of the Scythian monarch, but by supposing the Jancyrus of Justin to have been the father of Indathyrus, who, finding the refusal of his daughter had provoked the Persian king to attack his dominions, resolved to send his son Indathyrus to make an irruption into his territories; and dying soon after, he entailed that war upon his son, in which he acquired so much glory in the sequel.

However that be, Indathyrus, having received the proud challenge from the Persian king, implied in the demand of earth and water, sent him this remarkable reply; that as he acknowledged no lord but his progenitor Jupiter, and Vesta, queen of the Scythians, he would shortly send him a more suitable present, such as might, perhaps, make him repent of his arrogance. This present was afterwards dispatched to him, consisting of a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows, without any farther application. These, and the living creatures, Darius immediately interpreted in his own favour, to have been sent in token of submission. But Gobrias, who knew the Scythians perhaps better than his master, and compared the message and the present together, gave quite another sense to the latter, namely, that the Persians must not hope to avoid the effects of the Scythian valour, unless they could either fly like birds, plunge under water like frogs, or bury themselves in the earth like mice: whether or no this was the real meaning of the present, the preparations which he made against him sufficiently shew, that it was designed to signify an open defiance to the Persian army.

^a Lib. iv. cap. 76, 120, 127.^b Lib. ii. cap. 5.

Accordingly the king of Scythia summoned all the princes of the other tribes to come to his assistance against the common enemy and invader of their country. They included the kings of the Gelonians, Budians, and Sarmatians; the Agathyrsians Neurians, Androphages, Melanchlænians, and Taurians. These being assembled in council, and having debated the occasion of the war, were divided in their opinions; the three first only esteemed it a common cause, and resolved to join Indathyrsus. As for the other five, they sent him word, that as he had been the first and only aggressor, by invading the Persian territories without their participation, so they did not think themselves at all concerned in the retaliation which Darius was preparing to make. That they would therefore sit quiet at home, till some hostilities had convinced them that the Persians designs were equally levelled at them, in which case they would soon convince them that it was not their design to sit idle, and suffer their own territories to be invaded.

Indathyrsus was so exasperated at this unexpected message, that he resolved to be revenged on the other five treacherous nations, by drawing, if possible, the enemy into their country. To this end he resolved to fight no battle in the open field, but gradually to withdraw his army from the frontiers, to fill up all the wells and springs, and to destroy all the grass and provision as they proceeded. He divided his army into two columns; one, under the command of Taxacis, was to act in conjunction with the Gelonians and Budæans; the other was commanded by the king himself; whilst the Sarmatians were ordered to advance to the territories of king Scopasis, that in case the Persians should penetrate that way, they might retire by the lake Mæotis to the river Tanais; and, upon their retiring, harass them as much as they could. Taxacis was ordered to keep still a day's march before the Persians, and to fire them with frequent skirmishes, in order to draw them into the territories of some of those five nations who had refused to join them; and if that expedient did not succeed, they were left at liberty either to return into their own country, or attempt any other means their discretion should suggest.

This disposition being made, they sent away their wives and children towards the northern parts, together with all the baggage and cattle they could spare; then Indathyrsus commanded the best of his horse to march towards the enemy, whilst the rest followed them by private ways.

This

This detachment, finding the Persian army advanced about three days march from the Ister, destroyed all the product of the ground, and then retreated. The Persians pursued them as fast as they retired still farther back, till they had drawn them through Sarmatia into the territories of the Budæans, where they burnt and laid waste all that came in their way. They continued their pursuit till they arrived at a great desert of about seven days march; and here Darius not thinking it proper to proceed farther, began to build some spacious cities at equal distances from each other. These, however, he left unfinished, to go in pursuit of the flying Scythians, who by degrees drew him through the territories of the Melanchlænians, Androphages, and Neurians, who had left them to the mercy of so powerful an enemy, and laid all waste as they retreated, that the Persian army might find nothing for their subsistence. The remainder of this expedition we have already given in a former section: the result of which was, that the Persian monarch was forced to retire with the loss of the greatest part of his numerous army (R), and glad to escape with his own life, though at the expence of his glory. How much dearer still this invasion would have cost the Persians, had the Ionians, whom Darius had left to guard the bridge which he laid over the Ister, kept their promise to the Scythians, and left them to destroy it, may be easily guessed; but, they only deceived them with a promise that they would demolish it, and made a shew as if they were going about the work in good earnest, by taking off so much of it on the Scythian side as an arrow might reach, to prevent the Scythians from passing and de-

* Herodot. ubi supr.

(R) If Herodotus's account of this transaction may be credited, Darius was not so much repulsed by the arms of the Scythians, as affronted at an unaccountable instance of contempt which they occasionally shewed to him, just as the two armies were going to engage: he tells us they were both drawn up in order of battle, when a hare accidentally starting in the interval between them, the Scythians immediately quitted their ranks with

loud outcries, and pursued it with great eagerness. One would expect, that the Persians would have taken the opportunity of falling upon them, whilst they were in this confusion; but, it seems, Darius judged quite otherwise of an enemy that shewed so little regard for his gallant army, as to turn their backs to it to run after a hare; so that he thought it high time to take Gobrias's advice, and to secure his retreat as soon as he could.

molishing it, which, however, they soon rejoined again, when the flying Persians appeared; by which means Darius once more escaped the fury of the pursuing Scythians, who failed not ever after to load the Ionians with the worst of epithets for their treachery. As soon as they found that Darius was gone beyond their reach, they resolved to be avenged of him some other way, and to make themselves amends for the ravages they had been forced to make in their own country. Thrace, so lately conquered by the Persian king, became the unhappy victim of their fury; they laid it all waste as far as the Hellespont, and repassing the Ister, returned into Scythia loaden with immense spoils.

Saulius.

Saulius. This was he who slew Anacharfis, a prince of the blood, for having ventured to introduce the nocturnal rites of the mother of the gods into Scythia; which he had seen performed among the Grecians. Though Anacharfis had chosen a private place covered with a great wood, to perform this new worship in, yet he was discovered in the midst of it by a Scythian, who went immediately to acquaint the king with his discovery. Saulius hastened to the place, and found him playing on a timbrel before the images he had hung upon the trees, and shot him dead upon the spot.

Aripithes.

Aripithes had a numerous issue, but particularly one son named Scythes, not by a Scythian, but by an Istrian woman, who had caused him to be educated in all the Grecian customs and learning. Aripithes being afterwards killed by the treachery of the king of the Agathyrsians, this son found means to possess himself of his father's kingdom.

Scythes.

Scythes, though now king of Scythia, and married to one of his father's wives, who was also a Scythian, yet preferred the Grecian customs, in which he had been brought up by his mother, to those of his own country. To indulge himself in them, and avoid giving offence to his subjects, he bethought himself of the following stratagem: he led his Scythians to the metropolis of the Borythenians, which is reported to have been a colony of the Milesians, and leaving his army before the place, entered it alone; then causing the gates to be shut, and centinels to be placed at each of them, he put off his Scythian dress, clothed himself after the Grecian manner, and walked about the city without guards or attendance. Thus he continued a whole month, conforming to the Grecian worship, customs, and dress; but afterwards resumed his Scythian

Scythian habit, and departed. Not content with often repeating the same practice, he built a palace in that city, and married a native of it. He was going to be initiated in the rites of Bacchus, and had prepared all things for the ceremony, when the outward court of his sumptuous palace, which he had adorned with marble-statutes representing sphynxes, and griffins, was demolished by thunder. This accident did not, however, deter him from accomplishing his initiation; but, whilst he was in the midst of it, a Borysthenian went and advertised the Scythians, in words to this effect: "You upbraid us with celebrating our Bacchanals, because when possessed with the god, we lose, you say, the use of our reason; come now, and behold your king celebrating those rites with a divine fury, and be yourselves eye-witnesses how that god has taken possession of him." Some of the principal Scythians were immediately introduced into the city, and with grief and indignation beheld their prince from one of the towers, performing Bacchanalian rites with a numerous choir.

At their return they acquainted the army with what they had seen, which so enraged the Scythians, that as soon as he arrived among them, they revolted from him, and chose his brother Oëtamafades in his room. Scythes being informed of the occasion of this revolt, fled into Thrace; and his brother pursued him with a numerous army as far as the banks of the Ister, where he found Sitalces, king of Thrace, advancing to meet him. But as both armies were preparing to fight, Oëtamafades received a message from the Thracian king to this effect: "Why should we try the fortune of war? thou art my sister's son, and hast my brother with thee; deliver him up to me, and I will send Scythes to thee, so shall we avoid the hazard of a defeat." Oëtamafades agreed to the proposal, and surrendered his uncle to Sitalces, who immediately decamped with his army, and the new king of Scythia having received his brother, caused his head to be immediately taken off^d.

Oëtamafades.

Ariantes was that prince who, being desirous to know the number of his fighting men, ordered them all to appear at a set time, and to throw every one the tip of an arrow into a common heap, which amounted to such a bulk, that he caused it to be cast into a large capacious bowl, as a monument of the transaction, and dedicated it to Exampæus^e.

Ariantes.

^d Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 78—80.

^e Id. ibid. cap. 81.

Atheas.

The last king we shall mention in this history (S), and under whom the Scythians are said to have received a considerable overthrow^f, was Atheas, or as he is called by others, Matheas, and Machæas. This prince being engaged in a war with the Istrians, a people of Myfia, on the south banks of the mouth of the river Ister, sent to Philip king of Macedon to desire his assistance; and promised, in case of his compliance, to make him his heir to the crown of Scythia. But the Istrians having, at the news of this powerful succour, delivered him of his fears by their sudden departure, he sent another message to Philip, in which he told him flatly, that he had neither sent for his assistance, nor promised him his crown; that the Scythians neither wanted the help of the Macedonians, nor did their king want an heir, whilst he had a son alive. Philip, who was then besieging Byzantium, sent to desire him at least to remit him some money to defray part of the expences of the siege, as he had paid nothing either towards the subsistence, or reward to the auxiliaries which he had sent at his request.

Atheas had no way to elude so reasonable a demand, but by excusing himself upon the inclemency of their climate, and barrenness of their soil, which he said was so far from contributing to their opulence, that it scarcely afforded them sufficient sustenance. Philip, provoked at seeing himself thus baffled, resolved to retaliate. Whilst he was raising the siege, in order to enter into a war with them, he sent the Scythians word, that he had vowed to erect a statue to Hercules at the mouth of the Ister, which he desired liberty to come and set up there, as he was a known friend to the Scythians. Atheas, who suspected his design, answered, that if he had a mind to perform his vow, he need but send the statue, and he would take upon himself the care to set it up, and preserve it in safety: but that he would by no means suffer him to bring his army into his territories: he added, that if he persisted in his resolution of coming in person to erect the statue, they would soon melt and cast it into arrows, to be used against the Macedonians. Philip paid no regard to these me-

^f Justin, lib. ix. cap. 2.

(S) We have omitted several of their kings, concerning whom we either meet with nothing except their names, or something too fabulous and ri-

diculous to deserve a place in this work, or at best so vague and uncertain, especially in point of time, that it is impossible to fix it to any epocha.

naces ;

naces; and both monarchs being highly exasperated against each other, a bloody battle ensued, in which our author tells us, the Scythians, though superior in strength and courage, were overcome by the sagacity of the Macedonian king; twenty thousand women and children were carried off prisoners, besides a vast quantity of cattle, and twenty thousand of their finest mares, which they sent into Macedonia to improve the breed. As for gold and silver, they found none, and this, our author observes, was the first proof which the Scythians gave of their poverty in that respect.

However, this overthrow is not so universally allowed among ancient authors, as the war is, neither doth it consist well with what our author has declared in another place: where he introduces Mithridates haranguing his army, part of which consisted of Scythians, and complimenting their known valour with the overthrow of the two kings, Darius and Philip, who having but dared to invade their territories, had been put to a shameful flight ^g. But be that as it will, it is plain their overthrow was not so considerable as to hinder them from signalizing themselves upon many occasions against the Macedonians, Romans, and several other nations, in the sequel.

Lambinus is supposed, upon what account doth not clearly appear, to have been the last king of Scythia ^h.

C H A P. XV.

The History of the Mysians.

The Description of the Country, the Manners, Customs, Religion, &c. of the Inhabitants.

THIS small country is thought to have borrowed its *Name*. name from the Lydian word *myfos*, signifying a *beech-tree*, because it remarkably abounded with such. It was divided into the Greater and Lesser Mysia. Mysia Minor lay on the Propontis, and from thence extended to Mount Olympus, bounded by Bithynia and the Propontis on the

^g Justin. lib. xxxviii. cap. 7.

^h Vid. Heyl. lib. iii. p. 172.

north

north and west, by Phrygia Minor on the south, and by Phrygia Major on the east. Mysia Major was bounded on the north by Phrygia Minor, on the south by Æolia, on the east by Phrygia Major, and on the west by the Ægean sea. What Strabo calls Mysia Minor, Ptolemy denominates Mysia Major; the former is also named Olympena from Mount Olympus, and Hellepontica, because some towns anciently belonging to it were seated on the Hellespont. That part of Mysia, which lay between Ancyra of Phrygia and the river Rhindacus, is called by Strabo, Abrettana, and the remaining part Morena. The former denomination is often given to all Mysia.

Cities.

In that part of Mysia Minor, which lay on the Propontis, were the following cities; Cyzicus or Cyzicum, seated in an island of the Propontis, bearing the same name, but joined to the continent with two bridges by Alexander the Great. It borrowed its name from Cyzicus, king of that island and the adjacent continent, who is said to have been killed through mistake by Jason, the Argonaut. This city, when first known to the Romans, was one of the greatest and richest of all Asia, and hence was styled by Florus, the Rome of Asia, and celebrated by him and all the other Latin writers for its walls, bulwarks, haven, marble towers, &c.¹ Among its magnificent buildings, the chief temple is particularly celebrated by the ancients; the whole structure was of polished marble, and the joinings covered with lines of gold; the pillars were four cubits thick, and fifty high, each of one piece. The statue of Jupiter, which stood in the temple, was of ivory, and most exquisite workmanship². In after ages this city made a glorious stand against Mithridates, who lost under its walls no fewer than three hundred thousand men, and after all could not reduce it. However, the ancient inhabitants of this city and island were generally deemed a cowardly and effeminate race; insomuch that a man of a timorous disposition was contemptuously called a Cyzican³. Tully⁴ represents them as a quiet and inoffensive people, unaccustomed to ambitious machinations against the neighbouring nations, and willing to sacrifice every thing to the enjoyment of the sweets of peace. The current coin of this island, called stater, weighing eighteen drachms, was engraved with such nicety, exactness, and skill, that they were looked

¹ Florus. lib. iii. cap. 5.
² xxxvi cap. 15.
in Ver.

³ Xiphilinus in Dione. Plin. lib.
⁴ Hesychius. Eras. Chiliad.

⁵ AÆ. iii.

upon in those days as a miracle of art (T). The inhabitants pretended to a very great antiquity, and believed that their city had been given by Jupiter to Proserpine for her dowry, on which account they worshipped her as their chief deity. As for the beauty, magnitude, richness, and laws of this city, we refer the reader to Appian^a. It was ruined by an earthquake, and the fallen marbles and pillars were conveyed to Constantinople, to embellish that city. Under the Romans it was the metropolis of the consular Hellespont; but is at present little better than a village, known under the names of Chizico, Spiga, and Palormi.

Parium, so called from Parus, the son of Jason. Some think that Archilochus, the famous writer of iambics, was a native of this place. In this city was a naked Cupid, much celebrated by the ancients, and deemed no ways inferior to the famous Venus of Cnidos. In its neighbourhood lived the Ophiogenes mentioned by Pliny^c, who are said to have had the gift of curing the bites of serpents with their touch. Not far from hence stood a stately temple of Apollo Aëtæus and Diana, which being demolished, the ruins were employed to build an altar at Parium, which was looked upon as one of the miracles of Asia. The ancient Parians were a colony of Milesians, and the more modern inhabitants came from the Romans, who in all this province had but two colonies, namely, Parium, and Troas. Homer makes Parium and Adrastia one and the same city; but Strabo distinguishes them. Parium is now reduced to a village, but retains its ancient name.

Lampfacus, or Lampfacum, was seated at the entrance of the Propontis, over against Callipolis, in the Thracian Chersonese. It was built, according to some, by the Phocenses, according to others by Priapus, who was a native

^a Appian. in Mithridatico.

^c Lib. viii. cap. 2.

(T) This gave birth to the Greek proverb *Κυζικηνὸς στατήρης*, which has made some imagine an expression used in commending the above mentioned proverb to be a taunt on those, who in the art of engraving; as if they boast of their prowess, and affect to appear like lions, though they be in reality as timid and fearful as women (1). This coin represented on one side Cybele the great mother of the

(1) Erasmus. Chiliad.

of this place, and the most infamous of all the heathen deities. This city is said to have borrowed its name from a young woman named Lampſacus. It had a capacious and safe harbour, and a noble temple consecrated to Cybele. It was in ancient times famous for its wine, and on that consideration given by Artaxerxes to Themistocles, in his exile. Alexander the Great conceived such an aversion to this city for the lewdness and vices of the inhabitants, that he resolved to lay it in ashes; a design which the inhabitants having timely notice of, dispatched deputies to intercede for mercy, and avert, if possible, their impending doom. They no sooner appeared before Alexander, than the incensed monarch, to redeem himself from their importunity, solemnly vowed that he would deny their request. Whereupon Anaximenes, who was at the head of that embassy, addressed the king thus: "Most just and powerful monarch, the inhabitants of Lampſacus, having been so unhappy as to incur your royal displeasure, and desiring to atone for the enormous crimes that could provoke the wrath of so merciful a prince, have sent us to beg that you would utterly destroy their unfortunate city, a punishment richly deserved by those who could provoke your displeasure." This unexpected request, and the vow which Alexander had made to reject their petition, occasioned its being preserved from destruction. Priapus was worshipped here in a particular manner, and his temple was a perfect sink of lewdness, a very school of the most unnatural lust. Tully^p represents the inhabitants of Lampſacus as a quiet and indolent people, more fit to relish the ease of peace, than to sustain the toils of war. This city is still in a tolerable good condition, situated in a pleasant plain, surrounded with vineyards, that produce excellent wine. The Greeks call it Lampſaco, and the Turks, Lepſeck.

We will not pretend to mark out the exact bounds of the midland Mysia, which, according to Strabo, lay between the river Rhyndacus and Mount Ida. Here Stephanus places the city of Apollonia on the banks of the Rhyndacus, which rises from a lake, bearing the name of the city. This lake, called now the Lake of Abouillon, is twenty-five miles in compass, and eight miles wide, interspersed with several islands, whereof the largest, which is three miles in circuit, is called Abouillona. As the village, situate in this island, bears the

^p Act. iii. in Verr.

same name, some modern travellers^a take it to be the ancient Apollonia, which was once a city of great note, and maintained its lustre till the reign of the emperor Alexis Comnenus, when it was taken and pillaged by the Turks, as we are told by his daughter Comnena. Apollo was undoubtedly the chief deity of that city; for besides that it bore his name, he is represented on the reverse of several medals of this city^r.

The chief rivers of the Mysia Minor are the Rhyndacus *Rivers.* and the Granicus. The Rhyndacus, called by Pliny, Lycus, and by the moderns Lartacho, has its source in the lake of Apollonia or Artynia, as Pliny names it, and falls into the Propontis near Cyzicus. This river is memorable in the Roman history for the overthrow of Mithridates, who designing to surprise Lucullus, was himself surprised by that great commander, and his army cut to pieces on the banks of this river. The Granicus rises on Mount Ida, and discharges itself into the Propontis between Parium and Cyzicus. This river Alexander crossed at the head of thirty thousand Macedonians, in face of the Persian army, which was six hundred thousand strong. Travellers observe that its banks are very high and steep on the west side, so that the forces of Darius had a considerable advantage. This river, at present, is called the Soufoughirli, the name of a village which it waters. *

In this part of Mysia stands Mount Olympus, called by the ancients Olympus Mysiorum, to distinguish it from several other mountains of the same name. It is one of the highest in Asia, and great part of the year covered with snow.

The city of greatest note in Mysia Major, was Pergamus, seated in a spacious plain on the banks of the Caicus. It was the royal seat of the Attalic kings and of Eumenes, and enriched with a library containing two hundred thousand choice volumes, for the transcribing of which, parchment was here first invented, and thence called by the Latins Charta Pergamena: Ptolemy, king of Egypt, gave occasion to this useful contrivance by prohibiting the exportation of the Egyptian papyrus, in order to defeat the design of Cumes king of Pergamas, which was to cause all the valuable books, then extant, to be carefully transcribed, and to make a collection that might vie with Ptolemy's famous library at Alexandria. In Pergamus were likewise invented those costly hangings which we call

^a Tournefort, Voyag. au Levant.

^r Tournefort, ubi supra.
tapestry

tapestry, and the Romans named *aulæa*, from *aula*, signifying a *hall*, because the hall of Attalus, who invented them, was the first room adorned with this furniture. Galen, the famous physician, was born in this city; and here *Æsculapius* is said to have practised physic. We must not forget that Pergamus was one of the seven churches mentioned in the Revelations. It is now an inconsiderable place, thinly inhabited. There are still to be seen in the neighbouring fields, the ruins of the palace of the Attalic kings, of an aqueduct, and a theatre.

On the coast of the greater Mysia were seated the cities Antandrus, Scepsis, Assus, Adramyttium, and Pitane.

*Soil and
Climate.*

The soil of this country is one of the finest and richest of Asia, and as such celebrated by the ancients^a. It abounded in corn and wine, and was well stocked with cattle, and had a great many large plains for pasture. It was plentifully watered with small rivers running down from Mount Ida and Olympus. In short, the Mysians, as Philostratus informs us, with respect to their country, were the happiest of all the Asiatics.

Origin.

As to the origin of the Mysians, Herodotus^b informs us, that they were Lydians by descent. According to his account, Manes, the first king of Lydia, was father of Cotys, and Cotys of Atys, who had three sons, Lydus, Myfus, and Cares. From Lydus the Lydians, formerly called Mæones, from Mæon the father of Cybele, borrowed their name. Myfus and Cares planted Lydian colonies in the neighbouring countries, which from them were named Mysia and Caria. Others derive them from the Phrygians, and tell us, that Myfus was not a Lydian but a Phrygian. Strabo derives the Asiatic Mysians from those of Europe, inhabiting that tract which lies between Mount Hermus and the Danube, and is now known under the names of Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria. There are divers other opinions touching the origin of this people, which it would be of no use to relate, as they are mostly founded on distorted and far-fetched etymologies.

Character.

As to the character of the ancient Mysians, it must be considered at different times, for they seem to have been once a warlike people. Herodotus^c and Pliny^d speak of a very powerful army of Mysians and Trojans, which, before the Trojan war, passing over the Bosphorus into Europe, subdued all Thrace, and, advancing to the Ionian Sea, penetrated as far as the river Peneus. But, in after-ages,

^a Virg. Geogr. lib. i. ver. 103.
cap. 45.

^b Lib. vii. cap. 20.

^c Lib. i. cap. 94. & lib. iv.
^d Lib. vii. cap. 6.

they

they degenerated from the valour of their ancestors, so as to be looked upon as the most contemptible and insignificant nation on earth; insomuch, that the Greeks² had no expression to signify more emphatically a person of no worth or merit, than to call him "the last of the Mysians." They were prone to tears, and on that account employed by the Greeks³ to attend their funerals, and lament over the deceased. Their language was, in all likelihood, the same as the Phrygian and Trojan, with some variation of dialect. As to their manners, customs, arts, and sciences, we are quite in the dark. Their trade we can only guess at from their situation and wealth; for Philostratus informs us, that in ancient times they were the most wealthy nation of all Asia.

Their religion was much the same with that of the neighbouring Phrygians, of whom they did not fall short in superstition. They worshipped the same deities, and used the same religious ceremonies, whence some believe them to have been originally Phrygians. Cybele had a stately and rich temple at Cyzicus; and there was one dedicated to Apollo Actæus near Parium. Nemesis also is numbered among their deities, and was worshipped in a magnificent temple, built by king Adrastus, not far from the city of Parium, whence both the country and the goddess were named Adrastia. Priapus was worshipped by the more modern Mysians; but unknown to them even in Hesiod's time. The Mysian priests abstained from flesh, and were not allowed to marry. It was a ceremony practised among them to sacrifice a horse, and eat his entrails before they were admitted to the priesthood.

Concerning their government, thus much appears, that it was not always monarchical. We find no mention made of their kings till the Argonautic expedition; but authors are of opinion that they had kings long before that time. Diodorus⁴ tells us, that they lived in subjection to Ninus, by whom they had been conquered, and to the Assyrian kings his successors. After the destruction of Troy, and dispersion of the Trojans, the Mysians possessed themselves of great part of that country, which they held till they were conquered by Cræsus king of Lydia.

The first king of Mysia we find mentioned is Olympus, said to have married Nipæa; the daughter of Jasius or Jasion, brother to Dardanius king of Troy⁵.

² Strabo, lib. xii. Cic. pro Flacco. Chiliad.

³ Lib. ii. cap. 2.

⁴ Æscyl. in Persis. Erasm.

⁵ Scholiast. Apoll. p. 155.

Teuthras.

Teuthras appears next; it is uncertain whom he succeeded; he is said to have reigned over the Mysians, Cilicians, and Ceteans^b. He married Auge, daughter to Aleus the king of Arcadia's son^c. As he had no issue male, he gave his daughter Agriope, whom he had by his first wife, in marriage to Telephus his second wife's son by Hercules^d. He built a city, calling it Teuthrania, which name became more common to the country where the new city stood, and, in process of time, to all Mysia^e. He had another daughter, named Tecmessä, who, in the division of the booty, which the Greeks had got in plundering Mysia, fell to Ajax the son of Telamon.

Telephus.

Teuthras was succeeded by Telephus, a natural son of Hercules by Auge. Telephus being exposed by his grandfather's order on Mount Parthenius, was there nursed by a hind till he was found by the shepherds of one Corythus, who brought him up as his own child. Being desirous, when he was grown up, to find out his mother, he was directed by an oracle to steer his course towards Mysia, where he was received with incredible joy, not by his mother only, but also by king Teuthras her husband, who bestowed his daughter on him, and appointed him his heir. In the Trojan war he first sided with king Priam, and was dangerously wounded by Achilles; but was afterwards prevailed upon by the Greeks to stand neuter^f. Pausanias and Aristides tell us, that he planted a colony of Arcadians in the neighbourhood of Pergamus. Jornandes^g makes him king of the Goths, thus confounding the European with the Asiatic Mysians; for those of Europe, whom Pliny calls Mæsiæ, are thought to be descended from the Mysians of Asia. Telephus had two sons, Eurypylus and Latinus. Eurypylus, according to some^h, was killed in the Trojan war; according to others, succeeded his father, or reigned over the Ciliciansⁱ. Latinus is said to have led a colony of Ceteans into Italy^k.

Arius.

Eurypylus left one son, by name Arius, who succeeded his father or grandfather, and was slain in single combat by Amphialus, the son of Neoptolemus, who possessed himself of the kingdom of Mysia^l. We read of no other kings of Mysia till many ages after, when the Attalic family reigned at Pergamus, which we shall speak of in its proper place.

^b Strab. lib. xiii. ^c Diodor. lib. iv. cap. 3. ^d Strab. lib. xiii.
^e Pindar. in Olymp. ^f Diodor. lib. iv. Strab. lib. xiii. Appol-
 lodor. Stephan. &c. ^g De rebus Getticis, ^h Calaber.
 lib. vi. vii. viii. Hyginus fab. 113. ⁱ Strab. lib. xiii. ^k Clo-
 renus. p. 115. ^l Pausanias in Atticis.

C H A P. XVI.

The History of the Lydians.

S E C T. I.

The Description of Lydia.

WHENCE this country derived the name of Lydia is *Name.* not determined. Some, led by the affinity of words, bring it from Lud, Shem's fourth son, whom they pretend to have settled here. But this opinion we shall examine, when we come to enquire into the origin of the Lydians. All the ancient writers tell us, that Lydia was first called Mæonia, or Meonia, from Meon, king of Phrygia and Lydia; and that it was known under no other denomination till the reign of Atys, when it began to be called Lydia, from his son Lydus. Bochart^a, finding in his learned collection of Phœnician words the verb *luz*, signifying *to wind*, and observing that the country we are speaking of is watered by the Mæander, so famous for its windings, concludes, that it was thence named Lydia, or Ludia.

As to Meon and Lydus, he denies there ever were any such persons. To support this opinion, he endeavours to prove that the Phœnicians, and after them Moses, who, in the description of countries made use of their terms, gave the name of Lud not only to Lydia on the banks of the Mæander, but likewise to Ethiopia, where the Nile, as Herodotus observes^b, has as many turnings and windings as the Mæander itself. Now as these two countries, lying on the two most winding rivers then known, were named Lud, which word signifies *to bend* or *wind*, "who can doubt," says he, "but they had their common denomination from the rivers which watered them?" As to the ancient name of Mæonia, he takes it to be a Greek translation of the Phœnician word *lud*, wherein he agrees, in some measure, with Stephanus, who derives the name of Mæonia from Mæon, the ancient name of the Mæander. Some take the word *mæonia* to be a translation of a Hebrew word signifying *metal*, because that country, say they, was in former times enriched above any other with mines.

^a Phaleg. lib. ii. cap. 12.^b Lib. ii. cap. 29.

Though Lydia and Mæonia are by most authors indifferently used for one and the same country, yet they are sometimes distinguished; that part, where Mount Tmolus stood, watered by the Pactolus, being properly called Mæonia, and the other, lying on the coast, Lydia. This distinction is used by Homer, Callimachus, Dionysius, and other ancient writers. In after-ages, when the Ionians, who had planted a colony on the coast of the Egean Sea, began to make some figure, that part was called Ionia, and the name of Lydia given to the ancient Mæonia.

Geography. Lydia, according to Pliny*, Ptolemy, and other ancient geographers, was bounded by the Myfia Major on the north, by Caria on the south, by Phrygia Major on the east, and Ionia on the west, lying between the 37th and 39 degrees of north latitude. What the ancients style the kingdom of Lydia was not confined within these narrow boundaries, but extended from the river Halys to the Egean Sea. Pliny's description includes Æolia, lying between the Hermus and the Caicus; but that tract we shall consider apart.

Sardis. The chief cities of Lydia were Sardis, the metropolis of that kingdom, and the seat of king Cræsus. This city stood on the banks of the Pactolus, at the foot of Mount Tmolus. The Persians thought Sardis of such consequence after it fell into their hands, that Xerxes, hearing it was taken by the Greeks, commanded one of his attendants to cry aloud every day while he was at dinner, "the Greeks have taken Sardis;" a practice which was continued till he recovered the city. It was utterly ruined by an earthquake, and rebuilt by Tiberius. There are still to be seen the ruins of a large palace, and two magnificent churches, with a great many pillars and cornices of marble. Not far from Sardis stands a village of the same name, which some take to be that Sardis mentioned in the Revelation as one of the seven churches. Near this city was to be seen, in Herodotus's time†, the sepulchre of Alyattes, the father of Cræsus, whereof the foundation was of stone, but the whole superstructure of earth, being six furlongs, two hundred feet in circumference, and a thousand three hundred feet in breadth.

Philadelphia. Philadelphia, formerly the second city of Lydia, and so called from Attalus Philadelphus, brother to Eumenes, stood in a spacious and fruitful plain on the north side of Mount Tmolus. In this city were anciently celebrated the

* Lib. v. cap. 29.

† Herodot. lib. i. cap. 93.

common feasts of all Asia, as appears from an inscription quoted by Spon¹. It was one of the seven churches, and continued to make a good figure under the Greek emperors. It was the last in Asia Minor that submitted to the Turks, and that upon very honourable terms, after six years siege. Among the Greeks it retains its ancient name; but is known to the Turks by the name Allachsheyer. Part of the ancient walls is still remaining, with the ruins of an amphitheatre, and some sepulchres; whence the bodies, according to an ancient tradition among the inhabitants, were transported by the Christians into Europe.

Thyatira, a colony of the Macedonians, as Strabo informs us², was situated in a pleasant plain, not far from the river Hermus. This city was another of the seven churches, and its present ruins testify its former grandeur. The Greeks call it Thyra, and the Turks Akhifar. It is a place of some trade for corn and cotton, inhabited by about five thousand Turks. *Thyatira.*

Magnesia, by the Turks called Guzethifar, seated on the Mæander, was formerly a city of great note, as the ruins of many stately buildings demonstrate. Here Themistocles died, this being one of the three towns that Xerxes allotted to him for his subsistence, during his exile. It is still a large, handsome, and well-built city. Another city of the same name stood at the foot of Mount Sypilus on a rising ground, whence it commanded a very large and beautiful plain, famous in history for many battles fought there, but especially for that between Antiochus and the Romans, under the command of Scipio, which decided the fate of Asia. This city was for some time the seat of the Ottoman empire, and is still the capital of Carasia. *Magnesia.*

Sypilus is the only mountain in Lydia of any note. The goddess Sypilene took her name from this mountain; or rather Cybele was called Sypilene, because she was worshipped in a particular manner on Mount Sypilus. And hence on the reverse of almost all the ancient medals of Magnesia, this goddess is represented sometimes on the frontispiece of a temple with four pillars, and sometimes in a chariot. Plutarch informs us, that Mount Sypilus was likewise named the Thunder Mountain, because it thundered more frequently there than in any other part of Asia; and hence we find on the reverse of several vessels stamped at Magnesia, Jupiter armed with thunder. *Mount Sypilus.*

¹ Voyage d'Italie, &c.

² Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 430.

*Mount
Tmolus.*

bolts. Mount Tmolus, and in ancient times Timolus, was once very famous for its wine and saffron.

Rivers.

The rivers of this country, that we shall take notice of, are the Pactolus, which rushing from Mount Tmolus, waters the city of Sardis, and then discharges itself into the Hermus, or Sarabat. It was called by the ancients Chrysohoas, from the colour of its sands, which shine like gold^s. The Cayster, celebrated by the poets for the swans that frequented its banks, has its source in Phrygia Major, bathes Lydia, and empties itself into the Egean Sea near Ephesus. It has almost as many windings, if Spon is to be believed, as the Mæander itself.

*Origin and
antiquity.*

As to the origin of the Lydians, Josephus, and after him all the ecclesiastic writers, derive them from Lud, Shem's fourth son; but this opinion has no other foundation than the similitude of names. Some of the ancients will have the Lydians to be a mixed colony of Phrygians, Mysians, and Carians. Others, finding some conformity in religion and religious ceremonies between the Egyptians and Tuscans, who were a Lydian colony, conclude them, without any farther evidence, to be originally Egyptians. All we know for certain is, that the Lydians were a very ancient nation, as is manifest from their very fables; for Attis, Tantalus, Pelops, Niobe, and Arachne, are all said to have been the children of Lydus. And Zanthus in his *Lydiaca*, quoted by Stephanus, informs us, that the ancient city of Ascalon, one of the five satrapies of the Philistines mentioned in the books of Joshua and the Judges, was built by one Ascalus a Lydian, whom Achiamus king of Lydia had appointed to command a body of troops which he sent, we know not on what occasion, into Syria. The Heraclidæ, or kings of Lydia descended from Hercules, began to reign before the Trojan war, and had been preceded by a long series of sovereigns, sprung from Atys, and hence styled Atyadæ; a strong proof of the antiquity of that kingdom.

*Govern-
ment.*

The Lydians began very early to be ruled by kings, whose government seems to have been truly despotic, and the crown hereditary. We read of three distinct races of kings reigning over Lydia, viz. the Atyadæ, the Heraclidæ, and the Mermnadæ. The Atyadæ were so called from Atys the son of Cotys and grandson of Manes, Manes, the son of Jupiter and Tellus, the first king of Mæonia, had by Callirhoe, the daughter of Oceanus, one

* Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 430.

son by name Cotys; Cotys, by Halia the daughter of Tullus, had two, Asius and Atys; from Asius, Lydia borrowed the name of Asia, which in process of time became common to the whole continent. Atys married Callithea the daughter of Choraëus, and had by her Lydus and Tyrrhenus. Lydus succeeded his father in the kingdom of Mæonia, which in his reign began to be called Lydia. Tyrrhenus led a colony into Italy, and settled in Hetruria, now Tuscany. This is the account Dionysius Halicarnassensis gives us of the kings sprung of Atys, or the first race of the Lydian kings.

The Atiadæ were succeeded by the Heraclidæ or the descendants of Hercules. For, Hercules being, by the direction of the oracle sold as a slave, to Omphale queen of Lydia to expiate the murder of Iphitus, had, during his captivity, by one of her slaves a son named Cleolaus, whose grandson Argon was the first of the Heraclidæ that ascended the throne of Lydia. This race is said to have reigned, from Argon the first to Candaules the last, five hundred and five years, the father succeeding the son for twenty-two generations[†]. They began to reign about the time of the Trojan war.

The third race called Mermnadæ, began to reign not long before the Medes shook off the Assyrian yoke. The Mermnadæ were also, properly speaking, Heraclidæ, being descended from one Lemnos, or, as Apollodorus calls him, Agelaus, the son of Hercules by Omphale. The first king of this race was Gyges, and Croesus the last.

As to their character, it must be considered at different times: under Croesus, and some of his predecessors, they were undoubtedly a very warlike people; for, they reduced all the neighbouring countries, and spread far and wide the terror of their arms. But being afterwards subdued by the Persians, and enjoined by Cyrus according to the advice given him by Croesus, to wear long vests and apply themselves to such arts only as had a natural tendency to debase their manners, and enervate their courage, they became by degrees a most voluptuous and effeminate race, unfit for action, and entirely given up to idleness, pleasures, and diversions.

Their character.

The soil of this country, on account of the many rivers that watered it, was exceeding fruitful; it abounded in all sorts of grain, and is celebrated for its exquisite wines.

The soil.

† Herodot. lib. i. cap. 6. et seq.

It was enriched with several mines, whence Cræsus is said to have drawn his immense wealth.

Religion.

As to the religion of the Lydians, it seems to have been much the same with that of the Phrygians. They worshipped Diana, Jupiter, and Cybele at Magnesia, under the name of Sypilene; for, in the alliance concluded between those of Smyrna and Magnesia on the Mæander, in favour of king Seleucus Callinicius, both parties swore, as appears from the Arundelian marbles, by the goddess Sypilene. She borrowed this name from Mount Sypilus, or perhaps from a town of the same name, which, as Strabo informs us^u, was ruined by an earthquake in the reign of Tantalus. In the same city of Magnesia stood a temple of Diana Leucophryna, no ways inferior to the so much celebrated temple of Diana Ephesiana.

The manners, customs, &c. of the Lydians.

The customs of the Lydians were much the same with those of the Greeks, except that they used to prostitute their daughters; for the young women among them had no other fortune but what they earned by prostitution; after they had by this practice acquired a competent dowry, they were allowed to marry. They punished idleness as a crime, and inured their children from their infancy to hardships. Their arms were not bows and arrows, as some have pretended to argue from Jeremiah^v; but long spears, such as were anciently used by the horse; and in horsemanship, if Herodotus is to be credited, the Lydians far excelled all other nations. They were the first that introduced the art of coining gold and silver, to facilitate trade; the first that sold by retail; that kept eating houses and taverns; and invented public sports and shews, which were therefore called ludi by the Romans, who borrowed them of the Tuscans, that were descended from the Lydians. Herodotus informs us^x on what occasion they invented those public and several other private diversions. During the reign of Atys, the son of Menes, a great scarcity of provisions prevailed all over the kingdom of Lydia, which the inhabitants endured for several years with astonishing patience; but as the evil continued, in order to divert their minds from the consideration of their unhappy condition, they applied themselves to all manner of diversion, and some inventing one game, others another, they gradually introduced dice, balls, and such other diversions as were in ancient times used among the Greeks,

^u Strabo, lib. i. p. 38.
^{dot.} ubi supra, cap. 93, 94.

^v Jerem. xlv. 9.

^x Hero-

chefs only excepted, whereof the Lydians, as we are told by Herodotus, do not challenge the invention. Having thus contrived various kinds of diversions, they used to play one whole day without intermission, eating and drinking the next day without other amusement. After they had continued thus alternately fasting, and feasting, finding that their calamities increased rather than abated, the king divided the whole nation into two bodies, commanding them to determine by lot, which of the two should remain at home, and which go abroad in quest of new seats, since their native country could not afford them sufficient maintenance. The king appointed his son Tyrrhenus to command those who should be obliged to remove, himself remaining to reign over those who should have the fortune to stay. Those, who by lot were constrained to abandon their country, marched to Smyrna, where they equipped a small fleet, and putting to sea, after many adventures arrived in that part of Italy which was then called Umbria, and now Tuscany. There they changed their name, and were no longer called Lydians, but Tyrrhenians from their leader Tyrrhenus.

The trade of the ancient Lydians is no where mentioned; but we may suppose it to have been very considerable, especially under the latter kings, when Lydia was in the meridian of its glory; whoever considers the splendor of this monarchy, and commodious situation of the country, cannot doubt but commerce must here have flourished to a very eminent degree. To this remark we may add the immense riches, not only of the Lydian princes, but of several private persons. Herodotus *¶* mentions one, named Pythius, who not only entertained Xerxes and all his army, while he was marching with innumerable forces to invade Greece; but made him an offer of two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety-three thousand pieces of gold, bearing the stamp of Darius. The same Pythius had presented Darius, the father of Xerxes, with a plane-tree and vine of massive gold, and was reckoned, after the kings of Persia, the richest man in the known world. *Commerce.*

¶ Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 27.

S E C T.

S E C T. II.

*The Reigns of the Kings of Lydia.**Mafnes.*

THE first king of Lydia we find mentioned in history is Mafnes, or Manes. He is said to have been the son of the earth, which, in the language of the ancients, denotes him to have been of mean extraction. Heraclides mentions an anonymous king of Lydia, who, from the abject condition of a journeyman or slave to a cartwright, living at Cyma, was raised to the throne of Lydia. The same author adds, that as the Lydians were disburſing the money for his ranſom, a citizen of Cyma, for whom the ſlave was at that time making a cart, inſiſted on his finiſhing what he had in hand before he was ſet at liberty, profeſſing that he valued more the glory of having a cart made by the king of Lydia, than all the gold they could offer. This fortunate ſlave may have been Maſnes, ſince he, in regard of his mean deſcent, is called by the ancients Son of the Earth. Heraclides does not tell us what induced the Lydians to place a ſlave on the throne; but we may ſuppoſe this to have been brought about by the advice of ſome oracle, as it happened in the caſe of Gordius king of Phrygia; for Heraclides informs us, that the Lydians choſe a ſlave for their king, in hopes of being reſcued by his means from the oppreſſions they groaned under.

*Cotys.**Atys.*

Maſnes was ſucceeded by his ſon Cotys, and Cotys by his ſon Atys, in whoſe reigns, as the country was overſtocked with inhabitants, the great famine, which we have mentioned above, reigned for the ſpace of eighteen years, and obliged the king to divide his ſubjects, keeping one half of them at home, and ſending the other abroad, in queſt of new ſettlements, under the conduct of his younger ſon Tyrrhenus.

Lydus.

Atys was ſucceeded by his ſon Lydus, from whom the country, hitherto called Mæonia, took the name of Lydia.

Alcymus.

Alcymus, the next ſovereign, is repreſented as an excellent prince, who had nothing ſo much at heart as the welfare of his ſubjects; whence in the ſeventh year of his reign the whole nation met as Suidas, informs, to offer up prayers and ſacrifices for his health and proſperity. Stephanus calls him Alciamus, and adds, that in his time the city of Aſcalon was built by Aſcalus ſon of Hymenæus, and

and brother to Tantalus, who conducted an army of Lydians into Syria.

Adrymetes, or Adramytis, mentioned by Athenæus, is said to have been the first that employed women in such ministries as other kings had assigned to eunuchs. *Adrymetes.*

Cambletes, Camblitas, or Cambles, a debauched prince, who murdered his wife, and afterwards revenged her death by laying violent hands on himself. Athenæus says, that he was so ravenous as to devour his wife in his sleep, and that finding her hand in his mouth next morning, he was so grieved and ashamed of what he had done, that he put himself to death. *Cambletes.*

Tmolus put an end to his own life by throwing himself headlong from a precipice, impelled to this extremity by Diana, for having ravished Arrhipe, one of her followers *. *Tmolus.*

Theoclymenus succeeded his father Tmolus, of whom we find nothing in history, but that he buried his father on Mount Tmolus, which from him had its name. *Theoclymenus.*

After Theoclymenus, Marfyas reigned, who, on what occasion we know not, repairing into Italy, built, as we are told, by Solinus †, the city of Archippena. *Marfyas.*

Jardanes succeeded Marfyas; and in his reign all manner of lewdness prevailed in the kingdom of Lydia to such a degree, that Omphale, the king's only daughter, could not find shelter, even within the walls of the royal palace, against the insults of the licentious multitude, the most infamous lusts receiving a kind of sanction from the example of the prince. *Jardanes.*

On the death of Jardanes, his daughter Omphale was, by the unanimous votes of the nobles placed on the throne. She punished with great severity those by whom she had been abused in her father's life-time; and by causing the slaves all over the kingdom to be shut up with their mistresses, extended her revenge to the whole nation. But, in the mean time, falling in love with Hercules, she gave herself entirely up to him, and had by him a son named Alcæus. *Omphale.*

Omphale was succeeded by her son Alcæus, according to some authors, who affirm he was the first king of Lydia of the race of Hercules. *Alcæus.*

After Alcæus, reigned Belus, and after Belus his son Ninus, of whom we know nothing but their bare names. *Ninus.*

* Plutarch. de Fluviiis.

† Solinus, lib. vii.

Argon. Argon succeeded his father Ninus, and is said to have transferred the royal seat to Sardis. Herodotus says, Argon was the first of the descendants of Hercules that reigned in Lydia.

Leon, &c. Argon was succeeded by his son Leon; Leon by Adryfus, who reigned thirty-six years; Adryfus by Alyaetes, who reigned fourteen; and Alyaetes by Meles, who reigned twelve.

Yr. of Fl. Candaules, the son of Myrsus, was the last king of this
1613.
Ante Chr. second race, and lost by his imprudence both his life and
735.
kingdom. The fact is thus related by Herodotus^b: he

Candaules. had a wife whom he passionately loved, and believed the most beautiful of her sex. He extolled her charms to Gyges his favourite, whom he used to entrust with his most important affairs; and the more to convince him of her beauty, resolved to shew her to him quite naked: he accordingly placed him in the porch of her chamber, where the queen used to undress when she went to bed, ordering him to retire after he should have seen her, and take all possible care not to be observed. But, notwithstanding all the caution he could use, she plainly discovered him going out; and, though she did not doubt but it was her husband's contrivance, yet she passed that night in a seeming tranquillity, suppressing her resentment till next morning, when she sent for Gyges, and resolutely told him that he must either by his death atone for the criminal action he had been guilty of, or put to death Candaules the contriver of it, and receive both her and the kingdom of Lydia for his reward. Gyges at first earnestly begged of her that she would not drive him to the necessity of such a choice. But finding that he could not prevail with her, and that he must either kill his master or die himself, he chose the former part of the alternative. Being led by the queen to the same place where her husband had posted him the night before, he stabbed the king while he was asleep, married the queen, and took possession of the kingdom, in which he was confirmed by the answer of the Delphic oracle. The Lydians having taken up arms to revenge the death of their prince, an agreement was made between them and the followers of Gyges, that if the oracle should declare him to be lawful king of Lydia he should be permitted to reign; if not, he should resign the crown to the Heraclidæ. The answer of the oracle proving favourable to Gyges, he was universally acknowledged

^b Herodot. lib. i. cap. 8, 9, 10.

for lawful king of Lydia. Candaules is said ^c to have purchased a picture, painted by Bularchas, representing a battle of the Magnetes, for its weight in gold, a circumstance which shews how early the art of painting began to be in request, for Candaules was contemporary with Romulus.

Gyges having thus possessed himself of the kingdom of Lydia, sent many rich and valuable presents to the oracle of Delphos, among others, six cups of gold weighing thirty talents, and greatly esteemed for the workmanship. He made war on those of Miletus and Smyrna, took the city of Colophon, and subdued the whole country of Troas. In his reign, and by his permission, the city of Abydus was built by the Milesians. Plutarch, and other writers, relate his accession to the crown of Lydia in a quite different manner, and tell us, without making any mention of the queen, that Gyges rebelled against Candaules, and slew him in an engagement. As to his fabulous ring mentioned by Plato ^d, and Tully ^e, we refer the reader to Tzetzes, Suidas, and Philostratus. Gyges reigned thirty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son Ardyes.

Yr. of Fl.
1668.
Ante Chr.
680.

Gyges.

This prince carried on the war against the Milesians, which his father had begun, and possessed himself of Priene, in those days a strong city. In his reign the Cimmerians invaded and over-run all Asia Minor; but what battles were fought between the Lydians and these invaders, and with what success we find no where mentioned. Herodotus only informs us ^f, that in the time of Ardyes they possessed themselves of Sardis, the metropolis of Lydia, but could never reduce the castle. Ardyes reigned forty-nine years, and was succeeded by his son,

Yr. of Fl.
1710.
Ante Chr.
638.

Ardyes.

Sadyattes, who reigned twelve years, and warred most part of his reign with the Milesians ^g.

Sadyattes.

After him came his son Alyattes, who, for the space of six years, waged a bloody war with Cyaxares king of the Medes. The occasion of this war we have related in the history of the Medes. It was carried on with various success, the Medes sometimes defeating the Lydians, and the Lydians sometimes prevailing over the Medes. In the sixth year, while both armies were engaged, the day was

Yr. of Fl.
1729.
Ante Chr.
619.

Alyattes.

^c Plin. lib. xxxv. cap. 8. ^d Plato de Rep. lib. ix. & x.
^e Cic. lib. iii. de Offic. ^f Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 15. ^g Idem
ibid. cap. 16.

all on a sudden turned into night (U), a phenomenon which so frightened both the Lydians and Medes, that they laid down their arms, and shewed a strong inclination to adjust their differences in an amicable manner: a pacification was effected accordingly, by the mediation of Syennesis king of Cilicia, and Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. The peace was ratified by a marriage between Aryenis, the daughter of Alyattes, and Astyages, the son of Cyaxares (W). Peace being thus concluded between the Lydians and Medes, Alyattes employed all his forces against the Scythians, and, after a war which lasted several years, had the good fortune to rid his kingdom of those troublesome guests. He was attended with the like success in the war he undertook against the Smyrneans, whom he defeated in several battles, and at last made himself master of their capital and whole country. He continued, for five years, the war which his father had begun against the Milesians, ravaging their country, and about harvest-time carrying away all their corn yearly, in order to oblige them, for want of provisions, to surrender their city, which he knew he could not reduce any other way, the Milesians being at that time masters of the sea. In the twelfth year of this war the Lydians having set fire to the corn in the fields, the flames were carried by a violent wind, which happened to blow at that time, to the temple of Minerva at Assesus, and burnt it down to the ground. Not long after, Alyattes falling sick, sent to consult the oracle at Delphos; which refused to return any answer till such time as the king should rebuild the temple of Mi-

(U) This total eclipse fell upon the 28th of May, and had been foretold by Thales the Milesian, some years before.

(W) The account which Herodotus gives us of the cause of this war seems to some writers highly improbable. And truly it is not very likely, that the Scythians, falling out among themselves, should have had recourse to either of those kings, whose countries the Scythians had over-run, and oftentimes plundered. They had chiefly

reason to distrust Cyaxares, for the treachery he had shewn in massacring such of their countrymen as had settled in his dominions. Others are of opinion, that Alyattes being jealous of the too great power of Cyaxares (who had seized, after the conquest of Nineveh, the regions belonging to the Assyrians as far as the river Halys) entered into an alliance with the Scythians against the Medes, and that the war was carried on with the joint forces of the Lydians and Scythians.

nerva at Assesus. Alyattes, thus warned, dispatched ambassadors to Miletus, enjoining them to conclude a truce with the Milesians till the temple should be rebuilt. On the arrival of the ambassadors Thraſybulus, then king of Miletus, commanded all the corn that was at that time in the city, to be brought into the market-place, ordering the citizens to banquet in public, and revel as if the city were plentifully stored with all manner of provisions. This stratagem Thraſybulus practised to the end that the ambassadors, seeing such quantities of corn, and the people every where diverting themselves, might acquaint their master with their affluence, and divert him from pursuing the war. As Thraſybulus had designed, so it happened; for Alyattes, who believed the Milesians greatly distressed for provisions, receiving a different account from his ambassadors, changed the truce into a lasting peace, and ever afterwards lived in amity and friendship with Thraſybulus and the Milesians^b. Alyattes had two sons, Cræſus, by a Carian, and Pantaleon, by an Ionian. Cræſus succeeded his father, after he had reigned fifty-seven years.

Cræſus enlarged his dominions so as to be not inferior to any prince of that age, though there were in his time three very powerful monarchies, namely, Media, Babylon, and Egypt. Cræſus was the first that made war on the Ephesians, whose city he besieged and took, notwithstanding their consecrating it to Diana, and fastening the walls by a rope to her temple, which was seven stadia distant from the city. After the reduction of Ephesus he attacked, under various pretences, the Ionians and Æolians, obliging them, and all the other Greek states of Asia, to pay him a yearly tribute. He also formed a design of equipping a fleet to attack the inhabitants of the islands, but was diverted from this thought by Bias of Priene, or, as others say, by Pittacus of Mitylene (X). He afterwards

Yr. of Fl.
1786.
Ante Chr.
562.

Cræſus.

sub-

^b Herodot. lib. i. cap. 17, & seq.

(X) Bias arriving at Sardis from Greece, told Cræſus, inquiring what news he brought from thence, that the islanders had brought ten thousand horses with a design to attack him by land; which Cræſus believing, thanked the gods for inspiring them with such a resolution, as knowing that the main strength

of his army consisted in cavalry. Then Bias acquainted him, that the islanders had no such design, but were no less pleased in hearing that he designed to attack them by sea, than he was at the news of their preparing to attack them by land. Whereupon Cræſus, being fully apprised of the rashness

subdued the Phrygians, Mysians, Maryandini, Chalybes, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Thynians, Bithynians, Carians, Dorians, Æolians, Pamphilians, and all the nations that lay between Lydia and the river Halys¹. Athenæus mentions a signal victory he obtained over the Saccæans, a Scythian nation, in memory whereof the Babyloñians, his allies yearly celebrated a feast, which they called Saccea. Croesus having by these victories acquired great fame, many wise men of that age went to Sardis, on purpose to visit him, and among others Solon, who, after having published his laws at Athens, had absented himself from his country, under pretence of travelling, for ten years, that he might not be obliged to repeal any of the constitutions which he had established; for the Athenians could of themselves make no alteration, the citizens having taken a solemn oath to observe his laws for ten years. Being arrived at Sardis, he was with great hospitality entertained by Croesus in his own palace, and a few days after his arrival carried to see the wealth and magnificence of his treasury, which when he had seen, Croesus asked him who was the happiest man he had ever known, believing that he would give, without any hesitation, the preference to the king of Lydia. But Solon, as he was an enemy to all manner of flattery, and resolved on all occasions to speak the plain truth, answered, that Tellus the Athenian was the happiest man he had ever seen (Y). Croesus again asked him who was the happiest man after Tellus, not doubting but he would name him at least in the second place; but was again disappointed, the philosopher adjudging the second place to Cleobis and Biton, two Argives (Z). Croesus

¹ Idem. *ibid.* cap. 26, & seq.

rashness of his design, laid it aside, and concluded an alliance with all the Greeks that inhabited the islands.

(Y) Tellus was an Athenian, had many virtuous children, who all survived him, and after having enjoyed all the happiness, which the condition of mortals is capable of, ended his life in a most glorious manner. For coming to the assistance of his countrymen, in a battle fought at Eleusis against the

neighbouring people, he put the enemy to flight, and died in the field of victory. He was buried by the Athenians, at the expence of the public, in the place where he fell, and yearly honours were paid to his memory.

(Z) These two Greeks proved victorious in the Olympic games, and all other public sports. Their mother was a priestess of Juno, who being one day obliged to go to the temple,

Cræsus seeming highly dissatisfied with Solon for preferring the condition of private men to that of so rich and powerful a prince as he, the philosopher informed him, that it was impossible to judge of the unhappiness of any man before death, and that all things ought to be measured by their end^l. Not long after the departure of Solon, Cræsus lost his favourite son Atys, who was unfortunately killed, at the chase of a wild boar, by Adrastus, son of Gordius, and grandson of Mydas king of Phrygia, who had fled to Sardis for refuge^k. This loss was no small allay to his happiness, for he continued disconsolate for two years, and in a state of inaction, till the conquests of Cyrus, and growing power of the Persians, roused up his martial spirit, and diverted his mind to other thoughts. He apprehended that the success, which attended Cyrus in all his undertakings, might at last prove dangerous to himself, and therefore resolved to put a stop, if possible, to his conquest. To this end he consulted all the oracles of any fame either in Greece or Africa (A), he strengthened himself

^l Idem. *ibid.* cap. 30, & seq.

^k Idem. *ibid.* cap. 43.

temple, whither she ought to have been carried in a chariot drawn by a yoke of oxen, her sons, seeing that the oxen were not brought from the field at the time appointed, yoked themselves, and drew the chariot the space of forty-five furlongs. This action was greatly extolled by all the people that were assembled at the temple, and their mother, transported with joy in seeing her sons so much honoured by the whole nation, begged of the goddesses that she would reward her children with what she thought would prove most advantageous to them. Having put up this petition, and after offering the usual sacrifices, banqueting with her sons, they both fell asleep, and died in the temple. The Argians, in commemoration of their piety, caused their statues

to be made and dedicated at Delphos (1).

(A) We are told by Herodotus (2), that Cræsus sent ambassadors to the oracles of Delphos, of Abe, of Phocis, of Amphiaraus, of Trophonius, of Branchis, and of Jupiter Ammon, enjoining them to propose, each to the oracle he was to consult, and all on the same day, the following question: "What is Cræsus, the son of Alyattes, king of Lydia, now doing?" What answer the other oracles returned we find nowhere mentioned; but that of Delphos, as Herodotus informs us, answered thus: "I know the number of the sands of Lybia, the measure of the ocean, the secrets of the silent and dumb lie open to me. I smell the odour of a lamb and tortoise boiling together in a

(1) Herodot. lib. i.

(2) Lib. i. cap. 46, 47, & seq.

self with alliances, and, having raised a great body of forces, marched into Cappadocia, then belonging to the Persians, before his allies could join him. Here he encamped near the city of Sinope, on the Euxine sea, took the city of Pteria, and laid waste all the adjacent country, Cyrus hearing of the enemies motions, put himself at the head of a powerful army, and marching into Cappadocia, encamped in sight of the Lydian army. Here, after se-

brazen cauldron; brass is under, and brass above the flesh." Cræsus hearing this answer, adored the god of Delphos, and owned that the oracle had spoke truth; for on the same day that his ambassadors consulted the oracle, he was employed in boiling together a lamb and a tortoise in a cauldron of brass, which had a cover of the same metal, thinking it impossible that any, but a god, could know what he was doing. Whereupon he immediately offered to the Delphic Apollo a sacrifice, consisting of three thousand oxen; and to render him more propitious, he brought out beds of gold and silver, vessels of gold, robes of purple, and other rich apparel, and burnt them all together, commanding the Lydians to follow his example. On this occasion so much gold was melted down, that one hundred and seventeen tiles were made out of it, whereof the longest were six spans in length, the shortest three, but all one span in thickness. These, with a golden lion weighing ten talents, and many other rich presents Cræsus sent to the Delphic oracle, enjoining his ambassadors to enquire whether he should undertake a war against the Persians. The oracle returned this answer; "If Cræsus passes the Halys, he will put

an end to a vast empire." This answer was capable of being interpreted either of Persia or Lydia. Cræsus hearing this answer, and not doubting in the least, but that he should overturn the Persian monarchy, sent more presents to the oracle, and two staters of gold to each of the inhabitants of Delphos. In consideration of which, the Delphians granted Cræsus and the Lydians a right to consult the oracle before any other nation, together with the first place in the temple, and the freedom of the city for ever. Cræsus, having made these presents, sent a third time to consult the oracle, whether he should long enjoy the kingdom. The oracle answered, "That he should reign till a mule ruled over the Medes," which Cræsus deeming impossible, concluded that he and his posterity were to hold the kingdom of Lydia for ever. But the oracle, as it was afterwards interpreted, by a mule meant Cyrus, whose parents were of different nations, his mother being a Mede, and his father a Persian. And now Cræsus, relying on these fallacious answers, and believing himself invincible, marched, without waiting for the troops of his allies, into Cappadocia, where he was met by Cyrus at the head of a powerful army.

veral

veral skirmishes, the two armies came at last to a general engagement, wherein many fell on both sides. The night coming on, the armies parted on equal terms. But Cræsus fearing to venture a second battle, as his forces were not near so numerous as those of Cyrus, retired in the night-time, and marched with all possible expedition to Sardis, where he disbanded his troops, enjoining them to re-assemble at the end of five months; for he did not in the least apprehend that Cyrus, who had not been able to get the better of him in the field, would venture to advance to his capital. Cyrus, finding the next morning that the enemy had left the field, resolved to pursue him to Sardis, and oblige him to venture a second battle before he could be joined by his allies. This resolution was executed with such expedition, that Cyrus, at the head of his army, appeared in the plains of Sardis, before Cræsus had any intelligence of his design. The Lydians were strangely alarmed at so bold an attempt, which they had neither foreseen nor expected. The king, however, drawing together what forces were still remaining, marched against the Persians, by whom, after a sharp engagement, he was put to flight, and forced to shut himself up in Sardis, which was soon after taken by assault, and Cræsus himself made prisoner. In the attack of the town, Cræsus would have been killed, had not his second son, who to that time had been speechless, cried out to the Persian who was ready to strike, "Spare Cræsus!" Thus he was saved and carried to Cyrus, who commanded him to be put in fetters, and placed on a great pile of wood, with a design to burn him, and fourteen young Lydians, in honour of the gods, as a sacrifice and the first-fruits of his victory. Then Cræsus recollecting the words of Solon, that no man can be truly happy before his death, pronounced thrice that great philosopher's name; which Cyrus hearing, and understanding what induced him to invoke Solon, commanded him to be taken down from the pile, and ranked among his friends and counsellors¹. Xenophon tells us, that Cyrus received his royal prisoner with great kindness and humanity, when he was first presented to him, without mentioning the treatment which we read of in Herodotus. The first favour Cræsus begged of the conqueror was, that he would give him leave to send his fetters to the oracle of Delphos, as the trophies of the success which Apollo had promised. This favour Cyrus willingly granted; but the oracle, or rather the priests,

Yr. of Fl.
1799.
Ante Chr.
549.

*Cræsus
taken.*

¹ Id. *ibid.* cap. 71—87.

convinced Cræsus that he and not Apollo was to blame ^m(B). Thus ended the ancient kingdom of Lydia, which continued subject to the Persians, till they also were conquered by the Macedonians, as we have seen in the foregoing part of this history.



C H A P. XVII.

The History of the Lycians; and Ancient Cilicians.

S E C T. I.

History of the Lycians.

Name and divisions.

THIS country was originally called Mylias, or Tremile, from the Myliæ, a people of Crete who settled there, as Herodotus ⁿ and Stephanus informs us, and afterwards Lycia, from Lycus, the son of Pandion, king of Athens. The proper Lycia lies between the 36th and 38th degrees of north latitude. It was bounded by Caria on the west, by Pamphylia on the east, by Phrygia Major and part of Pamphylia on the north, and by the Mediterranean on the south.

^m Idem *ibid.* cap. 90, 91. Xenoph. *Cyropæd.* lib. vii. Vales. Excerpt. Diodor. Sicul. p. 241. Plutarch in Solon. Polyæn. *Strategem.* lib. vii. in *Cyro-Cræso*, & Solino in *Polyhistor*, cap. 1. ⁿ Herodot. lib. i. cap. 173. & lib. vii. cap. 92.

(B) The oracle answered, that the god himself could not reverse the decrees of fate, and that Cræsus, in the fifth generation suffered for the crime of one, who at the instigation of a woman, had murdered his master, and possessed himself of a crown which did not belong to him; and that as to the answers of the oracle, he had no reason to complain; for Apollo only foretold that by making war on the Persians, he would overturn a great monarchy. Had he desired to be truly informed, continued the oracle, he ought to have sent again to enquire whether his own, or that of Cyrus was meant by the oracle. But if he neither understood the true meaning of the oracle, nor would be at the pains of suing for a farther explanation, his misfortune and downfall was entirely owing to himself. Cræsus, hearing this answer, acknowledged himself to be in the wrong; and cleared the oracle from all suspicion of falshood.

This

This country was divided into two parts, the Maritime and the Mediterranean. The most remarkable cities of the coast were Telmessus, or Telmissus, seated on a noted bay in the western limits, whose inhabitants are said to have been the first who pretended to interpret dreams. Patara, situated on a hill, formerly celebrated for a temple and oracle of Apollo, not inferior to that of Delphos. At Patara Apollo was said to reside the six winter months, and the six summer months at Delos, whence the epithets of Patareus Apollo^o and Sortes Lyciæ^p. This city was greatly improved and embellished by Ptolemæus Philadelphus, and called, Arsinoe from his wife who bore that name, but the former denomination prevailed. Myra, built on a high hill about twenty furlongs from the coast, mentioned in the Acts^q, was the metropolis of Lycia when a Roman province, and of consequence in the Christian times an archbishop's see. Olympus, a famous city with a mountain of the same name. Phaselis, on the borders of Lycia and Pamphylia, in the time of the Romans, was an infamous nest of pirates, at last reduced by Servilius, while Pompey scoured the sea with a numerous fleet. To the pirates of this town former ages were indebted for those swift vessels, which the Romans, from the place, call phaseli, and we brigantines. We will not take upon us to mark out the bounds of the midland Lycia. Strabo reckons in it the following towns: Pinara, Cragus, at the foot of a hill bearing the same name, Tlos, Simena; and Ptolemy adds to the Mediterranean part of Lycia two small countries, Mylias on the west, bordering on Caria, and Cabalia on the east, bordering on Lycia Proper. But Strabo places Mylias on the borders of Pisidia and Pamphylia. The inland part of Lycia was divided by the river Xanthus, which rising in two springs from the foot of Mount Cadmus, and washing the walls of Xanthus, a city formerly of some note, discharges itself into the Mediterranean. From this river the people inhabiting the inland parts of Lycia were called Xanthians. The chief mountain of this country, and indeed of all Asia, is Mount Taurus, which has its beginning in this province, and extends eastward to the great oriental ocean. In Lycia was also the famous mountain Chimæra, which vomited flames, the bottom whereof was infested with serpents, the middle parts afforded pasture for goats, and the top was fre-

Cities.

^o Horat. lib. iii. Carm. ode 4.
ver. 146.

^q Act. xxvii. 5.

^p Virgil. Æneid. iv.

quented by lions; particulars which gave occasion to the poets to paint it as a monster with the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent. This mountain was first planted, and rendered habitable by Bellerophon, who is therefore fabled by the poets to have killed this monster.

Soil and climate.

The soil of this country is fruitful, and the air reckoned very wholesome. It is plentifully watered with small rivers running down from Mount Taurus, which often swell to an immoderate degree, and overflow the country, when increased by the melting of the snows on that mountain, or by heavy rains.

Their origin.

Herodotus and others^r inform us, that the Lycians were descended from the Cretans; for Sarpedon being driven out of the island by his brother Minos, and landing in Asia with those Cretans who had sided with him, settled in Mylias, and there founded a new kingdom, after having conquered and expelled the ancient proprietors, whom Herodotus calls Mylians and Solymi. During the reign of Sarpedon they continued to be called Cretans, but after his death took the name of Lycians from Lycus, the son of Pandion, king of Athens, who, being forced by his brother Ægeus to quit his native country, had fled to Sarpedon. Hence the poets, and with them Strabo, seem to confound the Lycians with the Carians, who were undoubtedly descended from the Cretans. But Diodorus Siculus^s, and Plato^t before him, counts the Lycians among the Greek nations of Asia, as being descended from the Argivi. Not to dwell on such uncertainties, the Lycians were once a very powerful and warlike people, considering the smallness of their country. They had, according to Strabo^u, twenty-three, according to Pliny^w thirty-six large and opulent towns, were expert mariners, and extended their power on the seas as far as Italy.

Their manners, government, &c.

The Lycians are highly commended by the ancient writers for their sobriety and manner of administering justice. They had in latter ages twenty-three considerable cities, each of which sent their deputies to a general assembly or diet, where all matters of consequence were canvassed, and determined by the majority of votes. They chose in the first place the president of the council, and after him the civil and military officers of each city. Here they administered justice, settled all private differences,

^r Herodot. ubi supra. Strab. lib. xiv. p. 557. Pausanias, lib. vii.
^s Diodor. Sicul. lib. v. cap. 16. ^t Plato in Minoe. ^u Strab. ubi supra.
^w Plin. lib. v. cap. 27.

declared

declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, &c. whence we may infer, that their government, at least in latter times, either was not monarchical, or their monarchs no way absolute. This form of government they maintained even under the Romans^x; but with this difference, that the consent of the Roman governor, and, in matters of moment, of the senate, was requisite for the validity of such acts and decrees as had passed in their assembly. Their government was at first monarchical; and the country was parcelled out into several petty kingdoms; for we read of the families of Bellerophon, Sarpedon, Lycus, Telephus, and Pandarus reigning in Lycia at one and the same time; if we will not rather suppose the government to have been aristocratical, and these families to have borne the greatest sway in the administration. Be that as it will, in process of time all Lycia became subject to one prince; for Herodotus, in enumerating the princes that contributed towards the equipping and arming Xerxes' fleet, mentions but one king of Lycia, by name Cybernisus^y. This nation was first subdued by Croesus, or the Lydians, and, after the downfall of the Lydian kingdom, by Cyrus. The courage, resolution, and intrepidity with which the Lycians of Xanthus opposed Harpagus, the Persian general, deserves particular notice. Instead of tamely submitting, like their neighbours, they attacked, with a handful of men, Harpagus's numerous army, and fought with incredible bravery, though under all the disadvantages imaginable. But being overpowered by numbers, and forced to retire into their city, they first set fire to the castle, where they had shut up their wives, children, slaves, and all their riches; and then engaging themselves by a solemn oath to die together, returned to the field of battle, renewed the fight, and were all killed to a man^z. The Lycians continued to be governed by their own kings even after they were subdued by the Persians; but paid an annual tribute to the king of Persia. They fell with the Persians under the power of the Macedonians, and after the death of Alexander were governed by the Seleucidae. Of these Antiochus the Great being confined by the Romans beyond Mount Taurus, Lycia was granted to the Rhodians; but these disobliging the Romans in the war with Perseus, Lycia was declared a free country, and continued to be so till the reign of Claudius, who, provoked at their intestine dissensions, reduced their country into the form of a province.

^x Strab. ubi supra.
lib. i. cap. 176.

^y Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 78.

^z Ibid.

Their customs were much the same with those of the Cretans and Carians, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. But they had one custom peculiar to themselves; for they took their names not from their fathers, but from their mothers, so that if any one was asked who he was, or of what family, he had recourse to the female line. Besides, if a free-born woman married a slave, her children enjoyed all the privileges of citizens; but, on the contrary, if a man of ever so great a family married a slave, their children were incapable of enjoying any honours, or bearing any public employment^a. As to their trade and navigation, we are quite in the dark. Their religion was the same with that of the inhabitants of Crete, which we shall have occasion to describe when we treat of the Greek islands.

The succession of the kings of Lycia, and the years of their respective reigns are overcast with such a mist, and interrupted with so many chasms, that it is not possible to give any tolerable account of them. We find mention made of but three kings of all Lycia.

Amisodarus, who is fabled to have nourished the monster Chimæra.

Jobates, who married his daughter Sthenobæa, or, as others call her, Antæa, to Prætus king of the Argives. He is said to have undertaken an expedition against the Tirynthians, in favour of his son-in-law, and to have subdued them.

Many years after reigned Cyberniscus, who was one of Xerxes' admirals in his expedition against Greece^b. This is all we find upon record concerning the ancient kings of Lycia.

S E C T. II.

The History of the Ancient Cilicians.

Name and divisions.

CILICIA, according to the Greek writers, borrowed its name from Cilix the son of Agenor, and brother to Cadmus, who is said to have settled in this country. Josephus^c tells us, that it was anciently called Tarsis, from Tarshish the son of Javan, who first peopled this part of Asia; and of the same opinion are Stephanus^d, Zonarus^e, and Hieron^f; but the latter by Tarsis, in Scripture sometimes understands Carthage^g, sometimes a province

^a Herodot. lib. i. cap. 173.

^b Ibid. lib. vii. cap. 78.

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 7.

^d Steph. verbo *Tarros*.

^e Zonar.

tom. i.

^f Hieronym. in Quest. Hebrais.

^g Idem. in

cap. 23. Esa.

in India^h, and sometimes the seaⁱ. Bochart^k derives the name of Cilicia from the Phœnician word *challekim*, or *challukim*, signifying a *stone*, that part of Cilicia, which the Greeks call *Cilicia Trachæa*, being very stony, and to this day called by the Turks, *Tas Wileieth*, that is, *the stony province*.

Cilicia, properly so called, lies between the 36th and 40th degree of north latitude, and is bounded by Syria on the east, or rather by Mount Amanus, which separates it from that kingdom, by Pamphylia on the west, by Isauria, Cappadocia, and Armenia Minor on the north, and by the Mediterranean on the south. It is now called *Caraminia*, and was the last province of the *Caraminian* kingdom that held out against the Ottoman race. The country is so surrounded by steep and craggy mountains, chiefly the *Taurus* and *Amanus*, that it may be defended by a handful of resolute men against a whole army, there being but three narrow passes leading into it, commonly called *Pylæ Ciliciæ*, or *the gates of Cilicia*, one on the side of Cappadocia, called the pass of Mount *Taurus*, and the other two called the pass of Mount *Amanus*, and the pass of *Syria*, leading from *Syria*. The Persian army marched through the streights of Mount *Amanus*, while that of Alexander was encamped at *Iffus*, not far from the streights of *Syria*, which lie more to the south, and were guarded by a body of Macedonians under the command of *Parnenio*; the streights of Mount *Taurus* Alexander had passed in entering Cilicia, the Persians who guarded that important pass having retired at the approach of the Macedonians.

The whole country was divided by the ancients into *Cilicia Aspera* and *Cilicia Campestris*; the former called by the Greeks *Trachæa*, or *stony*, is bounded by Isauria on the north, Pamphylia on the west, *Cilicia Campestris* on the east, and the Mediterranean on the south. The cities in this part of Cilicia mentioned by the ancients, are *Sydra*, or, as Ptolemy calls it, *Syedra*; *Nagidus*, a Samian colony; *Animurium*; *Arstone*; *Celenderis*, or *Celandris*; *Aphrodisias*, so called from *Venus*, who was worshipped there in a stately temple; *Holmus*, or, as Pliny calls it, *Holmia*; *Sarpedon*, famous for a noble temple consecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*; *Lephyrium*, according to Ptolemy, the last city of *Cilicia Aspera*, which Strabo extends to *Solæ*. Pliny, Mela, and Scylax make

Cities of
Cilicia
Aspera.

^h Idem. ad Marcell.
Phal. lib. i. cap. 5.

ⁱ Idem. in cap. 10. Esa.]

^k Bochart.

no distinction between the two Cilicias. Near Lephyrium was a grove much celebrated by the ancients, and minutely described by Pomponius Mela¹. Sebaste, which Archelaus the Cappadocian chose for his residence, after he was by Augustus appointed king of Cilicia Aspera; situate on a small island, called Eleusa, and not on the continent, where Pliny and Ptolemy have placed it. These were the towns of most note on the coast of Cilicia Aspera: the inland cities were, Seleucia, built by Seleucus Nicator, on the banks of the Calycadnus, and peopled by the inhabitants of Holmus; it was a free city under the Romans, and maintained its liberty, as is plain from several medals, at least to the time of the emperor Gordian: Domitianopolis, Philadelphia, Lamus, and in latter times Scandoloro, on the confines of Pamphylia, which last, with the adjoining territory, was governed by its own prince, while all the neighbouring provinces were subject to the Caramanian kings.

*Cities of
Cilicia
Proper.*

The chief cities of Cilicia, properly so called, or Cilicia Campestris, where these: Soli, or Solæ, built by the Rhodians and Achæus, destroyed by Tigranes king of Armenia, in his wars with the Romans, and rebuilt by Pompey; whence, in after-ages it was known by the name of Pompeiopolis. Laertius^a tells us, that this city was built by Solon, on his return from the court of Croesus, and peopled by a colony from Athens; and adds, that these Athenians, having in process of time quite lost the purity of their native language by conversing with the barbarians, became remarkable for their rude pronunciation and uncouth expressions, whence any impropriety of speech was called a solecism. But this assertion is contradicted by othersⁿ, who derive the word solecism not from the Solenfes in Cilicia, but from the Solii in Cyprus^o. Tarsus, which produced the great apostle of the Gentiles, and was, if we believe Strabo^p, in former times no ways inferior for the study of philosophy and polite literature either to Athens or Alexandria. We are told that it borrowed its name from Tarshish the son of Javan, by whom, or by his descendents, it was built; but Strabo acquaints us, that it was built by Sardanapalus, and proves his assertion from an ancient monument found in those parts with this inscription: "Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxes built the cities of Anchiale and Tarsus in one day."

¹ Pomp. Mela, apud Apollodor. lib. i. cap. 6. sect. 3. ^a Laert. in Vita Philosoph. ⁿ Strab. lib. xiv. p. 456. ^o Vid. Plut. in Vita Solon. ^p Strab. lib. xiv. p. 463.

Tarsus was at first the metropolis of all Cilicia, and after Constantine's division, became the capital of Cilicia Prima. The inhabitants enjoyed the privileges of Roman citizens, which St. Paul thought fit to make use of according to the *Pórtian law*^q. The Tarsians, to ingratiate themselves with Julius Cæsar, exchanged the ancient name of their city for that of Juliopolis; but the old name survived the new, that city being called to this day by the Greeks, *Tersia* or *Teraffa*; the Turks, as Bellonius and other more modern travellers inform us, call it *Hamfa*. *Anchiale*, built by Sardanapalus, or, if we believe Athenodorus, by *Anchiale* the daughter of Japhet. *Anazarbum*, situated on the river *Pyramus*, and, in the Roman times, the metropolis of *Cilicia Secunda*: *Suidas* tells us, that it was first called *Cyinda*, and afterwards *Anazarbum* from one *Anazarbus*, who was sent by the emperor *Nerva* to rebuild it, after it had been quite ruined by an earthquake; but he is certainly mistaken, since *Pliny*, who died long before the reign of *Nerva*, calls the inhabitants of this city *Anazarbeni*; and *Stephanus* derives its name from Mount *Anazarbus*, at a small distance from the place where this city stood. *Anazarbum* was the birth-place of *Dioscorides*, and continued in a very flourishing condition till the division of the empire. *Epiphania*, who gave birth to *George* the famous *Arian* bishop of *Alexandria*. *Mopsuestia*, the see of *Theodorus Mopsuestenus*, a great patron of the *Nestorian* heresy in the time of *Chrysostom*. *Iffus*, situated on a gulph to which it gave name, famous for the battle fought near it between *Alexander* and *Darius*; this town is now called *Ajazzo*, and the great gulf on which it stands denominated the *Gulf of Ajazzo*. *Alexandria*, built by *Alexander the Great* between *Iffus* and the streights which lead from *Cilicia* into *Syria*. As this city was situated in a place very convenient for trade, it soon became one of the most flourishing marts of the world. *Alexander*, in building it, employed *Democrates*, who had rebuilt the temple of *Diana* at *Ephefus*, which had been burnt by *Erostratus*^r, and took care to people his new city with colonies from several other places, especially from *Judæa*^s, allowing the Jews the free exercise of their own religion, and the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions which he granted to the *Macedonians*. As it was very convenient for such as traded on the *Mediterra-*

^q *Aët.* xvi. 37. and xxii. xxv. xxviii.

^r *Plin.* lib. v. cap. x.

^s *Joseph.* contra *Apion.* lib. ii.

nean, the Red Sea, and the Nile, it continued in a very flourishing condition, till trade took another course on the discovery of a way to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, when it degenerated by degrees into a poor village. It is at present called by the Turks Scanderon; and by the Italians, Alexandretta; remarkable for nothing else but some ruins, which shew what it was in better times.

Rivers

The rivers of any note in Cilicia are, the Pyramus, which rises on the north side of Mount Taurus, and empties itself into the Mediterranean, between Issus and Magarsus; the Cidnus, which springs from the Antitaurus, passes through Tarsus, and disembogues itself into the Mediterranean, near the city of Anchiale; it is famous for the rapidity of its stream, and coldness of its waters, which proved very dangerous to Alexander; the Calycadmus, the Lamus, the Sarus, the Pinarus, and several others of less note, water this province, and discharge themselves into that part of the Mediterranean, which the ancients called the sea of Cilicia, and extended near two hundred and fifty miles from east to west.

Soil and Climate.

That part of Cilicia, which the ancients call Cilicia Campestris, was, if we believe Ammianus Marcellinus, one of the most fruitful countries of all Asia; but the western part equally barren, though famous even to this day for an excellent breed of horses, of which six hundred are yearly sent to Constantinople for the use of the grand signior. The air in the inland cities is reckoned very wholesome, but equally dangerous on the coast, especially to strangers.

Their origin.

This country, according to Josephus^t, was first peopled by Tarshish, the son of Javan, and his descendents, whence the whole country was called Tarsis. The ancient inhabitants were in process of time expelled by a colony of Phœnicians, who, under the conduct of Cilix, first settled in the island of Cyprus, and from thence passed into the country, which from their leader they called Cilicia. Strabo^u tells us, that this Phœnician colony passed from Cyprus into Phrygia, where they lived in subjection to the kings of Troy, and after the Trojan war possessed themselves of that country, which was afterwards called Cilicia. In process of time several colonies from other countries settled in this kingdom; some in particular from Syria and Greece, whence the Cilicians in some places used the Greek tongue, in others the Syriac, but the former greatly

^t Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 7.^u Strab. lib. xvii. p. 342.

corrupted

corrupted by the Persian, the predominant language of the country being a dialect of that tongue.

The Cilicians, if we believe the Greek and Latin writers, were a rough race of people, unfair in their dealings, cruel, great liars (C), and, in the Roman times, entirely addicted to piracy. *Their manners, government, &c.*

In ancient times the Cilicians, before they settled in that country which we call Cilicia, were governed by their own kings, and divided into two petty kingdoms, the Theban and the Lyrnessian; in the former ruled the family of Eetion, in the latter that of Evenus. These kingdoms did not extend beyond the territories of Thebes and Lyrnessus, two cities in the famous plain called the Plain of Thebes, often mentioned both by the Greek and Latin writers, as having been the occasion of frequent disputes between the Lydians and Mysians, and in the Roman times between the neighbouring princes of Asia Minor. After the Cilicians settled in that country, which from them was called Cilicia, we find no mention made of their kings till the time of Cyrus, to whom they voluntarily submitted. They continued subject to the Persians till the overthrow of that empire; but were governed to the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon by kings of their own nation. Herodotus indeed counts Cilicia among the Persian satrapies^v; but from other writers it is manifest that the Cilicians were governed by kings of their own in the time of Xerxes^x, and Artaxerxes Mnemon. After the extinction of the Persian empire Cilicia became a Macedonian province. On the death of Alexander it fell to the share of Seleucus, and continued under his descendants till it was reduced by Pompey. As a proconsular province it was first governed by Appius Claudius Pulcher, and after him by Cicero, who reduced several strong holds on Mount Amanus, in which some Cilicians had fortified themselves, and held out against his predecessor, for which success he was saluted by the army with the title of Imperator or General. All Cilicia being thus brought under subjection,

^v Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 90.
vii. Diodor. lib. xvi. Curt. lib. ii.

^x Vid. Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib.

(C) Which gave rise to the proverb, "Cilix haud facile verum dicit. Cilicium exitium." And to the saying of Pherecrates, "Dii semper nobis imponunt, more Cilicium." That is, "A Cilician scarce ever speaks the truth. Cilician cruelty. The gods, like the Cilicians, always deceive us (2)."

(2) Vid. Chiliad. Erasmi. verbo Cilix.

it was first divided into Cilicia Campestris and Trachæa; the former became a Roman province; but the latter was governed by kings appointed by the Romans till the reign of Vespasian, when the family of Tracodementus being extinct, this part too was made a province of the empire, and the whole divided into Cilicia Prima, Cilicia Secunda, and Isauria. The first took in all Cilicia Campestris, the second comprehended the coast of Cilicia Trachæa; and the last the inland parts of the same division: and in this state it continued till the division of the empire.

*Their
kings.*

As to the succession of the Cilician kings we are almost quite in the dark. The ancients mention Eetion, who reigned before their migration into Cilicia, and assisted Priam against the Greeks. He was king of Thebes only, in the defence of which city he was, with his seven sons, killed, by Achilles. The famous Andromache, Hector's wife, was his daughter. Evenus reigned in Lyrnessus during the Trojan war, and is likewise mentioned by Homer². He was succeeded in his petty kingdom by his sons Mines and Epistropus, who, siding with the Trojans, were both killed by Achilles. Syennesis I. was contemporary with Alyattes king of Lydia, Cyaxares king of the Medes, and Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. Homedon is mentioned by Herodotus². Syennesis II. assisted Xerxes in his expedition against Greece³, and is greatly commended by Æschylus. Syennesis III. assisted, though much against his will, Cyrus the younger against his brother Artaxerxes. After his death we find no mention of kings, but only of governors of Cilicia, appointed by the kings of Persia; whence we conclude Syennesis III. to have been the last that reigned in Cilicia before the country was subdued by Alexander. Of the kings that reigned several ages after in Cilicia Trachæa we may have occasion to speak hereafter.

Yr. of Fl.
1947.
Ante Chr:
401.

¹ Homer. Iliad. Z.
vii. cap. 38.

² Idem, Iliad. B.
^b Herodot. ibid.

³ Herodot. lib.



